On Joseph P. Kennedy *William V. Shannon*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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Why We Need Medicare

Michael H. Alderman

For the Child Who Has Nothing

The Editors

Arthur Miller's New Play

Robert Brustein

Racism at the UN

Our UN Correspondent

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

What's Thrift?

★ Let us call the two men Bill White and Henry Smith. Each has an income of $12,000. They are newly married and need homes. White says, "I will buy a house for $20,000, paying $10,000 cash and taking a mortgage on the balance." But Smith says, "I don't believe in going into debt. I will postpone buying a house till I have saved up an additional $10,000."

Five years later White has enjoyed the use of his house, and paid off the mortgage. Smith says, "Now I have the money and will buy the house; I have lived in a cramped apartment too long." But when he takes the extra $10,000 to buy the original house he finds that it has gone up $5,000 in price. Alas, he will have to wait some time further to put his family in a fully paid home.

Now was not Smith silly? Most people think so. The Meadow Brook National Bank, the third largest in New York State, ran a full-page ad in the *NY Times* last week saying, "Debt's Not a Mortal Sin." Debt has its "positive" as well as its "negative" side, says the bank. Is it really thrifty for an individual, it asks, to wait to buy a house "till he has accumulated the full price"?; is it really thrifty for a company to wait till it has the full price of a factory before building it? And is it really thrifty, asks the bank, for a town to delay building a school "until it can meet out of current taxes the full costs"? Of course it isn't, you say; and so does the bank.

But apply this now to the federal government. America needs improvements terribly in some areas. But like the exasperating Henry Smith in the fable, we are postponing many of them because we cannot find the money.

For a matter of six or seven years now, US unemployment has averaged over five percent. The fact of poverty in plenty is now familiar. Social deficits in the public sector are disgraceful. Schools, hospitals, slums, transportation, urban areas cry for investment. But the new budget on which Mr. Johnson is now putting the finishing touches won't provide adequately for them if past precedent is followed and if the President sticks too closely to the fetish-ceiling of $100-billion expenditures. He may boast about the smallness of the budget, when in fact he ought to be spending more.

To alter the words of the Meadow Brook National Bank a bit: "Is it really thrifty for a nation to wait until it can meet out of current taxes the full costs of the improvements it needs now?"

Economists shrug in despair trying to make people understand that the government really has two or three different budgets. The so-called "administrative" budget is the one you read most about; it is the one where expenditures have never yet gone above the sacred $100-billion figure. But this is a biased budget (though useful in keeping discipline in federal departments and agencies). It purposely omits whole categories of receipts and expenditures. It is a different kind of bookkeeping. It puts down as a "liability," for example, an interest-bearing, self-liquidating loan to TVA, or a loan to a farmer. It excludes income and outgo of huge trust funds like Social Security. Under the same kind of budget, AT&T and General Motors would be in the red, too; for any growing corporation increases its debt every year. This budget is a handy device, but it is about as accurate in measuring the nation's total assets and liabilities as a man's current checking account would be in measuring his overall estate.

Tells the Real Story

★ There is a second federal budget, however; the economists' budget. This is the "National Income Accounts budget." Under this, the nation's expenditures penetrated the $100-billion ceiling long ago. But receipts were proportionately higher, too. This tells the real story of the country's financial condition, of overall income and outgo, and whether the government is stimulating the economy by putting in money, or deflating it by taking it out.

In January, 1963 President Kennedy told Congress in his State of the Union message that he was "giving major emphasis to a consolidated cash presentation" which included some $25 billion in trust fund operations, since this provided "a much more complete picture of governmental activities and finances than the administrative budget" would provide.

Well, we have gone back to the administrative budget so far as the public is concerned. It is another "myth" that Kennedy didn't live to fight. There is a fierce popular dogmatism which treats this particular bookkeeping system as though it were the final test of solvency, respectability and decency.

Scandinavian countries use a third system, the "capital budget," as do most American business corporations. The Scandinavians list as "investments" current expenditures on worthy items like dams, bridges and needed buildings. We, by contrast, lump together as "expenditures" cannon and waterworks, gunpowder and school houses, whether they are gone in a flash or are lasting investments in national wealth.

General Eisenhower is a merciful man but he sometimes sounds cruel in his grim pursuit of a balanced (administrative) budget. Last week in NY he asked the Life Insurance Association of America: "Why should the federal government assert and assume a priority interest in the problems of youth and aged, the ill and the poor, and the temporarily unemployed?"

Well, we can think of a couple of reasons. First, it is a nice thing to do. And second, it helps the economy by conserving human assets. (Reasonable federal spending also stimulates the economy.) It is a fine example of good business and good morals.

Most people aren't cruel, we think, they just lack imagination. The infant death rate in the US is a little worse than 25 per 1,000. There are 11 other developed countries, none as rich as the US, that have a lower infant death rate. Almost all have government health insurance. Their doctors, too, opposed it.

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Congress and LBJ

Goodwill, goodwill, shed its benign light over the President's background meeting last week with a half-dozen reporters. The lesson for the day is this: Let us patiently take counsel together, and don't shove. Mr. Johnson has no wish to get into a real crunch with Chinese Communists, nor with our allies in Europe, nor with the new Congress. He would unite, not divide. But soon this powerful man, so given to sweet talk and the widest possible consensus, will be obliged to inform the country and the 89th Congress specifically how, and at what speed, he wishes to move America forward toward the Great Society so vaguely sketched during his campaign.

The Congress is ready, indeed eager to learn from him. With a majority of 155 Democrats in the House and 36 in the Senate, the President should have the votes he needs for almost any sensible, progressive proposal. For example, it is estimated that he can command a reliable, minimum majority of about 40 votes in the House. (He is even better off in the Senate.) The House, moreover, is preparing to make it even easier for Mr. Johnson to gain prompt and favorable decisions. At long last, the Democratic leadership in that body appears willing to modernize its methods of operation. Under prodding by the Democratic Study Group, and most notably Representatives Morris Udall of Arizona and Frank Thompson of New Jersey, the leadership is expected to support a number of procedural reforms at the Democratic caucus which meets on January 2. These include denying membership in the caucus to Representatives John Bell Williams of Mississippi and Albert W. Watson of South Carolina, both of whom endorsed the candidacy of Barry Goldwater. The Rules Committee roadblock, or rather the power of its formidable blocking tackle, Chairman Smith of Virginia, is sure to be lowered or removed by the adoption of a circumventing 21-day rule. This will mean that after the 21-day period, any bill stalled in Rules can be brought to the floor for a vote. There is likely also to be a new seven-day rule, permitting legislation that has passed both the House and Senate to proceed to joint conference. Finally, we anticipate a reduction of the number of names required for a discharge petition, possibly a decision that appointments to the powerful Ways and Means Committee be approved by the entire Democratic caucus, and an alteration in the ratio of Democrats and Republicans on Ways and Means to reflect Democratic gains. All such reforms will have the effect of strengthening the hand of Speaker McCormack, and in-

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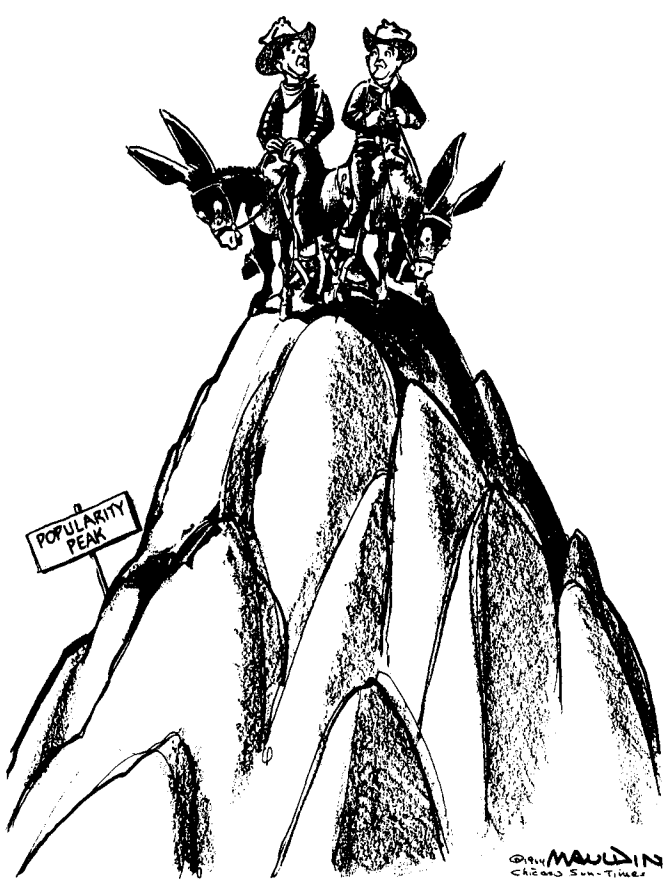
directly the hand of the President; and very probably the decisions of the Democratic caucus on January 2 will be made by secret ballot, another innovation. The reformers will not be unopposed. There will be objections from old-timers like Eugene Keogh of Brooklyn, who get along all right with things as they are. But reform has the votes.

In the Senate, there is an altogether different sort of change in the wind. Here the Democrats are discussing not rules, but their party leadership. Who is to succeed Hubert Humphrey as Majority Whip? To the surprise of many, the leading contender is Senator Russell Long of Louisiana. That very fact reflects the belief that with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the blocking this year of Senator Everett Dirksen's move to frustrate the Supreme Court's decision on reapportionment, such men as Russell Long have been liberated from their bondage to the race issue. If, as it is assumed, no new comprehensive civil rights legislation is likely for another decade, ancient battles that have dogged and distorted legislative deliberations can be put aside. The civil rights battle can and will move out of the Congress and into the Executive and the courts. But Russell Long? The man who fought the Civil Rights Bill, voted against the test ban agreement, has been "soft" on oil and gas regulation, and is from one of the six states that went for Barry Goldwater? Would not the very symbolism mock the November mandate of the voters, and even rob the liberal cause of a measure of its victory?



"Well, Hubert, I Guess We Better Get Moving"

Perhaps. But symbols are not always the telling factor in getting laws enacted, and both Senators Clinton P. Anderson (D, N. Mex.), and Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) – who are supporting Long's candidacy – have some new legislation in mind. There is Medicare, truth-in-labeling, further tax cuts, to name a few. Anderson and Douglas seem confident that the Senator from Louisiana would go along with such measures, that he would be a faithful supporter of most anything the President desires. Senator Long has already picked up votes from Western liberals, some of whom in the past have been too taken for granted, or so they have said, by the liberal leadership in the Senate, and who would, moreover, enjoy, for a change, being wooed by the South instead of vice versa. In the minds of certain of Mr. Long's backers, and it may be shared by the President, there is the thought too that it would be wiser to bring into camp Southerners whose natural instincts are progressive on economic and social questions; better to have them in than outside, throwing stones. Long's liberal advocates can hardly claim for him an unflawed record, but they do point out that he was the successful floor manager this year of the tax cut, and that it was largely through his efforts that a Social Security bill ruling out Medicare was beaten in the Senate.

But the Louisiana Senator does not have the field to himself. There are three other contenders for the position of Whip, the foremost being Senator John Pastore of Rhode Island. Pastore's voting record is judged near to perfection by most liberal standards. He reflects the interests of Eastern urban areas, and in fact it is that very preoccupation with urban problems which may hurt him with colleagues whose interests are largely rural. The other two candidates, Senator Mike Monroney of Oklahoma and Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine are late starters in the race. Although either could emerge as a compromise candidate, their chances are not rated high as of this moment. Pastore would give regional balance to the Senate leadership. It can be claimed on his behalf that his area, the Northeast, gave John F. Kennedy his victory in 1960, and gave Lyndon Johnson over 13 million of his 43 million votes. But the Northeast sends only 10 Democrats to the Senate and Pastore, whose tongue is sharp, has often wounded liberal egos, while delighting the galleries. Mr. Monroney, a man with a fine public image and a moderately liberal record and lots of friends on the Senate floor, suffers the disadvantage of having labored for 12 years under

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the shadow of the late Robert Kerr, and he has only recently come into his own in Oklahoma after helping to turn back the bid of the GOP's popular football coach, Bud Wilkinson. Senator Muskie is from Maine, not yet Democratic enough for party regulars.

Russell Long is not Whip yet, but a bit of arithmetic shows that 20 Senate Democrats come from the South (his natural allies) and 17 from the Far West – 37 out of 68. Mr. Long isn't going to get all of these votes, but he need only match every loss with a populist-minded Midwesterner, and he is in with two votes to spare, the first Southern Whip since 1947.

To repeat, all of this jockeying suggests that a new era may be shaping up, one that began to emerge after the passage of the Civil Rights Act. There is a new suspicion, or perhaps hope, among Senators that the final solution of Mississippi may lie in a revival of populism shorn of the racial overtones that disrupted that movement at the turn of the century. It is still a bit difficult to imagine Russell Long – though he is the son of Huey – walking hand in hand in the South with civil rights workers to build an agrarian radicalism that could overthrow a white supremacy Establishment, but it is not impossible. We may underestimate the strength of John Pastore, who has valuable friends among Western colleagues on the powerful Appropriations Committee, and Mike Monroney, whose person-to-person campaign has encouraged him. And, in the end, the White House may quietly pass the word that would end the contest. But as of now, it seems that a Southerner, whose background as a rural progressive shows concern for poor people, is the front runner – thanks to the backing of key members of the liberal bloc. It is a symbolism that liberals from the teeming industrial centers that provide the ethnic and racial blocs that win national elections for the Democrats find distressing.

But whether it is Mr. Long or another, it is plain that in advance of the inaugural of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Humphrey, the Congress will have made itself ready to receive its marching orders. Congress will be waiting to catch the President's signals and carry out his plays. What then is the pleasure of the coach – on employment, education, excise tax, mass transit, urban housing and medical care for the aged?

Fair Shares

Competition is what makes the wheels of free enterprise go round, but who would imagine that there would be bitter rivalry about picking up bits of vehicles (and the dead and injured) after highway accidents? Such however would appear to be the case in Colorado.

The Florence chamber of commerce has complained that the Colorado State Patrol summons tow-cars, ambulances and other emergency vehicles from Canyon City, whenever such grisly services are required for automobile crashes that occur in Fremont County. Canyon City is in the west of Fremont County and Florence is in the east. The feeling in Florence, according to that city's chamber of commerce, is that Canyon City is being favored, and that Florence's auto repair shops, ambulance services, doctors, and its St. Joseph's hospital, are being slighted. One proposal at present is that the county be divided in half by a line drawn down the middle, so that each town is assured of getting its fair share of the accident business. At any rate, that's how the Pope divided the New World between Portugal and Spain.

Alvin Johnson at 90

Alvin Johnson, best known for his many decades as President of the New School for Social Research, was a *New Republic* editor for seven crucial years, 1917-1923, and left a permanent imprint on this journal. A brilliant economist (he taught at Stanford and four other institutions), he writes with a charm and distinction not often found among men of his erudition. Our files contain hundreds of articles of his which combine felicitous expression and solid common sense. His equable temperament appeared, in those early days, to be reflected in the slow spiral of smoke from his always present pipe, which often seemed to exert a magical calming effect on stormy quarrels in editorial conferences.

The New School which he helped found in 1919 today has nearly 10,000 students; while some of them are candidates for AB, MA, or PhD degrees, the great majority follow Dr. Johnson's aim from the beginning and study for the sheer pleasure of it. In its classes hundreds of retired professional men and women sit beside youngsters in its more than 500 courses, many of them in subjects never taught anywhere until Alvin Johnson introduced them. Practicing the educational theories they preached, he and his remarkable wife successfully educated their seven children at home until they were of college age.

Beginning in 1933, he rescued from Nazi tyranny large numbers of European scholars and brought them to America to teach in many institutions. Some of the best remained in the "University in Exile" which today, as the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science, enrolls about a thousand candidates for advanced degrees.

With all this, Mr. Johnson has found time for many other things. He was largely responsible for the first

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New York State law requiring equal opportunity in employment. He edited the great *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.* He has written his autobiography, *Pioneer's Progress,* and several books of essays, and – beginning at 85 – he returned to an early love and produced several volumes of fiction. Now, having celebrated his 90th birthday last week, he is at work on a new book.

The Other Texas

20,000 Words a Week About the State as It Is

I got to know Texas in a most uncharacteristic way, as writer and later editor of a small weekly journal of dissent. One can usually acquire a surer sense of a place by knowing something of its dissenters and critics than of its acquiescing majority, who are generally nourished on their own chauvinism and prefer to tell an outsider what he most expects to hear. The effect of Ronnie Dugger's *Texas Observer,* which is ten years old this month, had been profound. Here was a paper whose readership never got much higher than 6,000, yet by the sheer force of its ardor and its talent, it began to be read by everyone in the state whose opinions had authority. It was not merely that Dugger and the other *Observer* editors, Bill Brammer, the late Bob Bray, Lyman Jones, Larry Goodwyn, and a display of contributors who would do honor to any journal, began writing stories about what actually happened: the operations of the business lobbyists in the state legislature, the courage and disarray of a pathetically small opposition, the effect on the state's culture of highly organized know-nothing groups working on school boards, civics classes and service clubs. What had been more important was that provincial politics became the subject for serious thought and writing by young men concerned not just with reform at the state level, but with the broader reflection the Texas legislature and Texas politics and their terrible failures cast on social values in a democracy. The *Observer* was part muckraker; its antecedents were in the state laboratories of the Progressive era (and hence it was curiously out of character in the decade of Eisenhower, Dulles and McCarthy).

Within the limits of weekly journalism, the *Observer* was also something of a literary enterprise. Dugger's early writing on precisely how a state legislature worked from the backrooms, Brammer's satire on the small-town grotesques in the state Senate and the balcony roosters who financed the show deserve a prominent place in an anthology of our best writing about American politics. When the state legislature was not in session the *Observer* concentrated on Texas as a place: the silent tragedies of its small towns, the barren stretches in its Panhandle, the changing character of its cities. It ran essays on the rural sharecroppers, the prostitutes in Galveston, the Negroes in East Texas, the *Mexicanos* living in caves and shanties just across the border. It brought a new element into Texas, because in a state which, unlike Mississippi, had not developed much of a creative literature, it tried to tell about Texas in journalism as it really was; it caught the stresses and tensions of a frontier society becoming urban and American. The big dailies were not interested in the activities of Tennessee Gas in the private clubs of the capital city, or in the last words of a 17-year-old rapist in death row at Huntsville, or in the terror of a seven-year-old Negro child in an adult ward for the mentally ill in a state hospital, or in what Norman Mailer said or didn't say to the college students in Austin; the news value of Negro cub scouts sitting on the curb in front of a movie house in Dallas after having not been allowed to see *King of Kings* must have eluded their city editors.

When I was a junior at the state university back in 1955, I have a recollection of Dugger, then 24 years old, sitting in a small dark office in the old frame building on West 24th in Austin, surrounded by newspapers and magazines. Brammer, his associate, was out getting drunk with the lieutenant-governor and Dugger was writing the whole paper by himself in less than 24 hours. Once an issue was put to bed he would take out for someplace in his woebegone 1948 Chevrolet, crowded with camping equipment, six-packs, notebooks, galley proofs and old sardine cans. His devotion to Texas as a *place,* as a state distinctive from others – knowing its courthouse squares, its backroads, its people in cities as different as El Paso and Tyler, its history, its dialects – was something that was vanishing from America. "I love it here and belong here," Dugger wrote not long ago, "an animal that feels best when he knows where he is. In a big place like Texas, you come and go with your friends, meet and stop meeting and still go on being friends across distances that often these days become physically insuperable for any casual purpose. If the stereotypers have done us no other favor, they have helped those of us who are friends hold on in an awareness of our common place, even across continents."

Brammer, who later wrote a political novel *(The Gay Place)* about a weekly newspaper and a legislature with only a few of the names and addresses changed, and those not very radically, once recalled those early days in a reminiscence: "The impulse toward dissent in

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Texas scarcely existed. Then Dugger and his newspaper erupted on the scene to shake us up a little in our hookworm belt complacencies. Soon there were wounded hoots and wild cries and a crazy circus of exposures, denials, copped pleas and even one or two indictments. All this devotion and energy help explain why the *Observer* has outstayed and outshone other regional ventures in independent political journalism, right and left, recent and long-gone."

We always remained devoted on the paper, as one of our contributors and most loyal friends, Roger Shattuck, once wrote of us, "to politics, its responsibility and thrall." It was seldom a very easy task to travel all over Texas and still get an issue out every week. For two men each to write some 20,000 words of presumably literate journalism a week under deadline, read all the copy and galley proofs, hobnob with politicians, and keep up a correspondence meant staying up all night two or three nights in succession, and eventually setting up a desk by the linotype operator and handing him the final editorial page by page. A finished issue was never just an issue; it came out of the marrow of our bones. It was so much our own it reflected not just our errors but our sins, from comma blunders to the most critical shortcomings in judgment, but it was good to know that any week's issue would be read and probably closely, by the two US Senators, the governor, the Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the US House, and most members of the legislature not to mention the state's finest minds and kindest souls. For this reason we got anonymous phone calls tipping us off about legislators, usually from other legislators. We were intermediaries in fights (some of them not specifically philosophical) between the liberals. We had a curious perspective on Texas, because our shabby quarters in Austin were the haven for a good percentage of the displaced population: old Jewish socialists with beards, Negro sit-ins on fasts, ex-Stalinists with nowhere to go, not even Russia. From Monday to Friday there was a steady flow: anarchists, beatniks, bums, *New York Times*men, editors of Eastern journals, FBI men, Michael Harrington, bookies, Goldwater Republicans seeking some coalition, retired professors, and Unitarians. Our phone was tapped and the office had roaches. Sarah Payne, our secretary, the gentlest person I have ever known, fought the roaches and tried to protect us from the more casual intruders, but rarely was it possible to give thought there to the unusual or disordered or despairing things we had seen.

WILLIE MORRIS

For the Child Who Has Nothing

At an international conference held at the National Academy of Sciences in Washington a small group of doctors, scientists and scholars from 20 countries met to talk about young children – the one-to-five age group – in the so-called developing countries. These pre-school youngsters constitute 25 percent of the two billion population of these nations (compared to less than 10 percent of the population in this country), and the nutritionists tell us that seven of every ten of them suffer from some form of malnutrition. Papers presented at the conference also said that malnutrition permanently impairs physical growth and that there is now strong evidence that malnutrition and irreparable mental retardation are related. The specialists say that unless it is stemmed, the growing incidence of malnutrition will have a major effect on "what our civilization looks, thinks and acts like – in 1984."

The scientists are speaking, of course, of those who are strong enough to survive. Up to half the children in these countries never make it to their fifth birthdays, a mortality rate some 60 times higher than in more affluent societies. Were the death rate in the pre-school age group in Latin America as it is in our country, for example, almost a third of a million fewer youngsters would die every year. Still more graphic, in a country like Libya a mother must have five children to be reasonably certain that one will ever reach the age of 15; and in Vietnam, the cumulative mortality approaches 40 percent with four years of life. This is a proportion of deaths which is not reached until age 60 in the United States.

As if these figures are not striking enough, the highly regarded Mexican nutritionist Dr. Joaquin Cravioto says, "The true picture of child mortality due to malnutrition is still understated." Reason for such "understatement" may well be the unscientific tabulation of mortality rates. According to Dr. Cecily Williams, the grand British lady who keynoted the conference, the job of registering deaths is often left to policemen and postmasters. "In Malaya," she says, "the police had the responsibility of registering uncertified deaths. In one rural area it was found that deaths under the age of three were blamed on 'convulsions' or 'crying convulsions'. Those between three and 30 were usually

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ascribed to 'fever', and over 30 to 'senility'."

It was Dr. Williams, incidentally, who many years ago in Africa first described the symptoms of child malnutrition and tagged to it the name of "*kwashiorkor.*" This word from the Ga dialect in West Africa means "the sickness the older baby gets when the new baby comes." When the older child is replaced by the new baby at the mother's breast, the lack of a suitable diet soon makes the first child irritable and listless. Professor Ritchie Calder of the University of Edinburgh, another participant in this month's conference, says: "The most saddening experience I know is to look into the eyes of *kwashiorkor;* it is like looking into a dark lantern, in which the glint of childhood is unlit. The muscles waste, the skin cracks and scales, like peeling stucco on a wall. The hair loses its pigment. . . . Liver damage almost always occurs. If the child survives its third year, as an untreated case, it will go through life permanently damaged, with its mental and physical development impaired."

This growth retardation, according to studies conducted in 15 countries by the National Institutes of Health, is approximately 20 to 30 percent. This means that by the time the child reaches the age of 12, he has the physical development of a normal eight year old.

Just as serious in the eyes of the nutritionists as growth retardation is that malnutrition lowers resistance against infection. And once he is infected, the malnourished child is of course more susceptible to severe disease. The death rate due to measles in Guatamala, for example, is 228 times greater than in the United States. In Ecuador, it is 325 times greater.

Not too long ago, the matter of "pre-school malnutrition" (a misleading professional label, since most of the children have no schools to be "pre" to) kept only the nutritionists and pediatricians awake at night. In recent years, however, it has been giving insomnia to others also.

The technical know-how exists to overcome the problem. In Mexico, for example, where increased attention is being given to small children, pre-school deaths dropped 57 percent in a decade. Some forward momentum is now sensed by many of the scientists. As suggested by one of the delegates in Washington, "We no longer seem to be trying to walk 'up' the 'down' escalator."

A number of conclusions are emerging, most of a long-range nature. These include nutrition education programs ("the way to a young child's stomach is through its mother's mind – and this is frequently blocked by grandma"), control of food wastage ("food loss in India due to rats, insects, poor storage and fungi amounts annually to three times the food deficit there"), and, of course, family planning ("every year, India increases its population an equivalent to the size of Greater New York").

Unfortunately, the current problems can't all wait for long-range solutions. Of the many approaches discussed by the experts, it was apparent that one of the easiest, quickest and least-expensive steps would be to fortify and further enrich the massive quantities of food already being shipped to the needy abroad through America's Food For Peace Program. As part of this program, up to 75 million children are every day given some form of food supplement, much of this through CARE and the religious charitable agencies. However, "the nutritive value of these foods," according to Food For Peace Director Reuter (a former director of CARE himself), "could be considerably enhanced with simple vitamin fortification of the non-fat dry milk, and increased enrichment of the flour. Since the law creating this program was originally passed primarily as a surplus disposal measure," Mr. Reuter said, "no legislative authority exists to use additional funds to give our food the needed boost."

A recent NIH study suggests that in East Pakistan alone, 50,000 infants every year are blind for life because of Vitamin A deficiency. In Indonesia, the disease is said to "assume enormous proportions," with hundreds of thousands of children having markedly impaired vision. Vitamin A deficiency is reportedly "widespread," and "a grave threat to sight and survival."

One of the towering figures in this field, Dr. Nevin Scrimshaw of MIT, points out that to provide skim milk to areas already short in Vitamin A serves only to exaggerate the already existing nutritional imbalance. "The United States by sending skim milk to such areas," he says, "runs the risk of precipitating acute Vitamin A deficiency and even blindness. This would be both inhumane and politically dangerous."

"We in the United States have it within our power to prevent this kind of thing from happening," said Vice President-elect Hubert Humphrey in one of his final floor statements as a member of the Senate. One of the originators and long one of the staunchest supporters of Food For Peace, Senator Humphrey told his colleagues: "We can do this at a very minor cost. . . . We ought to find a way to make this minor adjustment in our Public Law 480 program [Food For Peace] to fortify our donated foods. . . ."

The cost has been estimated, for milk as an example, at two one-hundredths of one cent per child per day. Over a year-long period, this comes to something less than seven cents per child for enough Vitamin A and D in his milk to prevent possible blindness, to check rickets (a Vitamin D deficiency which affects the bone structure of up to 50 percent of children in certain tropical countries), and increase resistance to infection.

Food For Peace Director Reuter points out that aside from the obvious moral concerns related to such an is-

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sue, the US aid program has developed foreign markets for US farmers (Japan is now the US farmers' chief overseas customer), but "how can we expect a mother to buy American milk for her child when she can buy fortified milk from other countries at the same price?"

Senator Humphrey has suggested that we must weigh the cost of fortifying our Food For Peace donations against the costs which may result from the consequences if we don't. "In East Pakistan alone," he says, "we are speaking of 50,000 potential invalids in *one* year in *one* small part of *one* country, who may well end up requiring some type of major welfare assistance. To the budget of that country – and the budget of this country which through its aid program supports that country – it seems a reasonable investment to spend pennies to prevent this kind of thing."

Such fortification and enrichment of our Food For Peace donations is by no means the answer to the problem of malnutrition among so-called pre-school children, but according to Mr. Reuter, "it is a good step in that direction. We can feed them all we want when they're six years old – but by then it may well be too late; the damage has been done. Their tomorrows depend on today."

THE EDITORS

BALKANIZED AFRICA CANNOT DO WITH OR WITHOUT THE WHITE WEST

Racism at the United Nations

From Our UN Correspondent

For many years, there was no more prominent tribune from which racism of every kind was continuously denounced than the United Nations. In the past several weeks that has changed. "For you humanity is a white humanity, but there is also a black humanity," shouted a representative of the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) the other day, during debate in the Security Council. Another angry African said: "Our African morality is superior to your white morality. You have nothing to teach us. . . ." A representative of the Tshombe regime in the other Congo (Leopoldville) charged that the "Arab regime of North Sudan is slaughtering Negroes of South Sudan, thousands of whom fled to the Congo." Long before the Negroes were brought as slaves to America, he recalled, they were taken into slavery in the Arab countries. In reply the Moroccan representative called this statement a "lamentable generalization," but he couldn't help observing that his opponent was "an African only by virtue of his color."

And although Paul Henri Spaak of Belgium pleaded that "after what happened at Auschwitz and Buchenwald no white man has the right to give lessons to anybody," few who heard the Leopoldville representative describe how prisoners were treated by the rebels in Stanleyville before it was recaptured, how their abdomens were slashed, how kidneys had been removed and then pieces of flesh torn out and eaten on the spot could resist the temptation to believe that those "black savages" have to be brought to heel.

As expected, the Security Council debate on the complaint of 22 states, 18 of them African, against the Belgian paratroop drop on Stanleyville from US transport planes, marked the worst outburst on record of hate between the new, decolonized Africa and the Western world. But it likewise revealed hate and division between Africans themselves which the empty slogan of African unity can no longer hide; it told us a great deal about the impossibility of any united action by the new Africa.

A Western diplomat with many years of experience in Africa, and just returned from an important capital there, said: "The worst thing about the Congo is not those massacres of whites and blacks alike, but the fact that a handful of mercenaries, no more than 400, are accomplishing what many thousands of Congolese soldiers could not accomplish, and what the Organization of African Unity never undertook. What a terrible humiliation for all the black governments, what proof of their impotence!"

What is now going on in the UN skyscraper is a tragedy for Africa. A well-informed East European expressed it in these words: "In the foreign offices in Paris, Moscow, Prague, Rome and Warsaw, officials are tired of Africa, of the money which is spent there without visible results, of the chaos, of the promises which have been broken. Every white power, Communist or capitalist, is re-examining its policy, re-examining it in the sense of reducing commitments, reducing aid. The white world is losing interest in Africa."

An African minister said: "For decades I fought for

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the liberty of my country and for withdrawal of the colonial administration and foreign troops. But now the biggest calamity which can strike us is General de Gaulle's decision to withdraw his troops from our country. Can you imagine! The French spend $24 million a year on those troops – more than our total exports. So we travel to Paris and plead with the General to let his troops stay. But the General is stubborn. He needs this money for his *force de frappe*."

Another African official put it more brutally: "When we were a colony the metropolitan government bought all our peanut crop at a fixed price, much above the world-market level; and we have nothing but peanuts. Today we are independent and sell our nuts on the world market. We have never been in a greater mess."

Diplomats who came for the UN Assembly session from Algeria talk mostly of the tremendous increase in that country's armed forces in recent months. "Ben Bella," I heard it remarked, "talks about sending troops against Tshombe, against the Portuguese, against South Africa, against Israel. But everybody in Algeria knows he is arming against Morocco. He wants to take back what he lost in last year's short-lived war." Diplomats from Rabat have a similar story: Morocco is arming heavily. Those from Addis Ababa speak of the ever-existing possibility of a clash with Somalia. The discreet Portuguese, who for the past several years have appeared in the UN with grim faces, now have a faint smile on their lips. The South Africans, who once flooded the UN Secretariat with denials and propaganda pamphlets, are saying little.

There are many Africans well aware of the danger that the whites will get fed up with Africa. They are willing to castigate fellow Africans at closed meetings of the African group, or even from the public tribune of the General Assembly. They call for an African "re-examination of conscience," for self-criticism. They denounce Tshombe, but, they say, the Congo has the right to have the government it wants, and the other African states have as little right as the white West to mix in its affairs. They even go so far as to deny African politicians the right to rebuke the US and Belgium for their Stanleyville intervention, recalling how the three East African states recently invited British troops to come and deal with an African soldiers' rebellion, and how other African rulers have invited French paratroopers to save them from a *coup d'etat*.

Can a new start be made in Africa? This is the most important question facing its rulers, more important even than apartheid or Portuguese rule in Angola and Mozambique. A new start would require, first of all, doing away with Africa's Balkanization, under which 33 states were created, few of which are able to pay for the bureaucratic machine and economic development every independent state must have. "As of now," says someone who has spent most of his life in Africa, "independence and admission to the UN for an average African state mean economic ruin." One cannot build a stable continent on such foundations.

REAPPORTIONMENT

I. *Is There Another Way?*

The US Supreme Court, in recent years, has in effect stated that both houses of all state legislatures be reapportioned according to population so that each voter in the state would have about the same weight in electing a legislator.

Court decisions on reapportionment have, however, created tremendous controversy, including congressional attempts to delay or nullify the court orders. The movement to block the court decisions, and it is far from dead, has largely been led by conservatives in the North who desire to frustrate legislative action on the many urban problems that face our states and who desire also to prevent, by maintaining rural control of the state legislature, fairer legislative apportionment of the US House of Representatives. Southern segregationists have joined these Northern conservatives in order to prevent Negroes from gaining a greater voice in their legislatures.

Unquestionably, the majority in each state must be able to act on the many urban problems of the day – transit, education, housing, welfare – and it must be able to protect the civil rights of the inhabitants of the state. And this means that state government must become more representative of the popular will than it normally has been. However, as *The New Republic* has repeatedly pointed out, there are some thorny questions about the Supreme Court decisions on the reapportionment of state legislatures. If both houses of the legislature are elected according to population, as they presumably now must be, the rural resident may not be fairly represented. Consider, for example, Alaska. If apportionment is based solely on population, one rural legislator may represent an area larger than the state of Ohio. How could he possibly adequately represent his constituents' desires in such a large geographic territory on the many local matters with which the state legislature is concerned? All rural residents do not necessarily have the same interests on many issues. Or take another example: the rural resident of St. Lawrence County on the Northern border of New York State may have quite different concerns than the rural residents of Suffolk County on Long Island.

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The "conservative" solution of allowing one house to represent geography and the other population usually results in a rural veto of progressive legislation and frustration of the urban and suburban majority. That, plainly, cannot be tolerated.

Unicameralism, on the other hand, is also unsatisfactory, for it provides no checks on hasty action and does not provide adequate representation to the various rural interests.

Why not a solution based on the Canadian federal model? One house of the state legislature could be elected on a basis of population, ensuring majority control (usually urban and suburban) of one house of the legislature. The second house of the legislature could be elected as it normally is in most states on a basis of geography – usually one member per county. But this second house would have delaying powers only. If a bill which passed the popular house was defeated in the second house (or the popular house refused to accept amendments proposed in the second house) the bill would not then become law. However, if the popular house passed the same bill again after, say, a year, it could go direct to the governor for his signature or veto, without having to go to the second house. The delay period could be made much shorter on budget items – perhaps 35 days. Confirmation powers on gubernatorial appointments should be given only to the popularly elected house.

Whether the Court would find a compromise along these lines acceptable remains to be tested. It seems to me worth finding out. DONALD GRUNEWALD

II. *The Case of New York*

Vigorous exercise by the federal courts of their power to override the legislative will is often a gratifying spectacle, but it is never an unmixed blessing, as the current battle over apportionment in the New York legislature will readily show. The trouble was diagnosed over 60 years ago by the great constitutional scholar, James Bradley Thayer. The power of judicial review expresses, of course, a form of distrust of the political process, and of the legislatures in which that process culminates. The legislatures for their part, wrote Thayer, "are growing accustomed to this distrust and more and more readily inclined to justify it . . . they insensibly fall into a habit of assuming that whatever they could constitutionally do they may do – as if honor and fair dealing and common honesty were not relevant to their inquiries. . . . [It] should be remembered that the exercise of . . . [the power of judicial review], even when unavoidable, is always attended with a serious evil, namely, that the correction of legislative mistakes comes from the outside, and the people thus lose the political experience, and the moral education and stimulus that come from fighting the question out in the ordinary way, and correcting their own errors. The tendency of a common and easy resort to this great function, now lamentably too common, is to dwarf the political capacity of the people, and to deaden its sense of moral responsibility. It is no light thing to do that."

Governor Rockefeller's lame-duck special session of the state legislature intends to propose to the federal courts in New York some four possible apportionments, all duly enacted and signed by the governor in, as it were, layer-cake fashion. All four will meet the one-person, one-vote standard, give or take a person or a vote; all four, one may confidently expect, will gerrymander the state in favor of the Republicans. The federal courts will be asked to pick one of these four (Governor Rockefeller having vetoed any plan to be enacted by the new Democratic legislature which comes in in January), and to approve it. Thereupon the Republicans will have their advantage – and it may be not much less of an advantage than the present so-called malapportionment gives them – but they will be able to escape responsibility for it. The Republican gubernatorial candidate in 1966, who will face, as governors have always faced, a one-person, one-vote, ungerrymandered constituency, will argue that nobody can reasonably object to the work of this lame-duck session, for not only was the resulting apportionment approved by the federal courts as constitutional and hence, by hypothesis, fair, honorable and honest, but it was picked and virtually written by the federal judges themselves, rather than by the outgoing Republican legislature.

The trick is likely to work. The lame-duck speaker of the New York Assembly, Joseph Carcino, already popularized the stock answer to complaints heard in the state about lame-duck apportionment: it isn't lame-duck or Republican apportionment, it will be constitutional, court-approved apportionment. And it will be, for there is no constitutional inhibition, no Supreme Court pronouncement against gerrymandering – at least the garden-variety, party-advantage version of it. And so the destination of the long, the too-long and too-vigorously activist road traveled by the Supreme Court in the apportionment cases of last spring is the point where the Republicans of New York are forced to abandon a position of party advantage which was openly assumed and for which responsibility could be plainly assigned, in favor of a position of party advantage which is covertly assumed and for which responsibility will be difficult to fix. The tendency elsewhere will be to drive the politicians to a similar point. "It is no light thing to do that." For it is far from enhancing the responsiveness of representative government.

ALEXANDER M. BICKEL

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That Nine-Foot Channel

Stillwater, Minn.

The history of Stillwater, Minn., a town of 8,000 on the St. Croix River, near where Northern States Power Company proposes to build a big power plant, is rather obscure. Asked to discuss the subject, a long-time resident stared out the window, then said, "Most people go away. Roxy Rothafel [who started the Roxy theater in New York City] came from here. Schumann-Heink gave a concert once. Bing Crosby's mother was born around here or her sister, or somebody here went out with his mother or something. Other than that things have been rather quiet."

In the middle of the last century, shortly before Minnesota became a state, Stillwater, then the largest town, got a choice of three plums: the capital, university or prison. It chose the prison, which remains as the town's one tidy business venture. Otherwise Stillwater seems to have lived off a bungled rape of the river. From the 1850's to the end of the century the St. Croix valley was logged bare; the river was jammed with white pine sent down the Mississippi and Stillwater was the biggest lumber center in the north. What remains of the period architecture lends the town character. Big buildings on the main street are tricked out in jaunty and expensive renderings of Italianate styles then the rage. When the logging ended, a foundry helped keep things going until the depression. Since then local businessmen have engaged in several grandiose schemes to revive life along the St. Croix and put Stillwater back on the map. One plan was to attract trade by replacing the old rickety bridge between Wisconsin and Minnesota shores with a new one. It was indeed a handsome structure, opened in high spirits with a great fanfare by local dignitaries. But business didn't pick up. It never occurred to the builders the Wisconsin farmers were just as poor as they. In the late 1930's the government was got in to dig a nine-foot channel up the St. Croix to Stillwater. The idea was to lure barge traffic off the Mississippi before it would have to go through cumbersome locks at Minneapolis-St. Paul, and instead permit it to run easily up the St. Croix into a big terminal where the loads could be shunted by rail or truck all over the north. The terminal was duly constructed. A first load of coal came up to the prison and it was followed by one or two others before traffic petered out. Oil heating became big business, and Stillwater businessmen hit upon another sure-fire plan for making a killing. They built an oil depot. The channel was lengthened and oil pumps put in on shore. Barges could carry oil for next to nothing which then could be piped off into tank cars of some railway; it would run them north to Duluth on Lake Superior. One tow of two oil barges came up the river. The barges were moored more than a year; one of them finally sank.

Meanwhile, the foundry, heavily in debt to Northern States Power Company and obligated for back taxes, had all but been abandoned when Stillwater ran into real luck. The nephew of the wife of a plant official appeared, declared himself to be an "expediter," and said that were he to receive certain benefits he would get the foundry back into big business. He would use the slag heaps to make brake shoes. This was a 100-percent-profit deal, and the county board, delighted at last to hit pay dirt, wrote off the foundry taxes; Northern States forgot its bills, and the expediter got to work. First he cleared away the unneeded machinery, sending it down the river by barge for sale at St. Louis. Next he sold off a lot of old office equipment which wasn't much good to anybody. Then he tore down some of the surrounding stone buildings and sold barge loads of this for jetties along the Mississippi. Only a shell remained of the foundry, but by the time this dawned on the people of Stillwater, the expediter himself had disappeared.

Into this atmosphere of ruined expectations plunged the Northern States Power Company with its plan to build two huge coal-powered electricity generating units at Oak Park Heights, just south of Stillwater. The plant would mean some employment, reduction in high school taxes, and perhaps most significantly, it would at long last get some traffic (coal barges) in that nine-foot channel. The townspeople who ardently support the plant hopefully see it paving the way for a new industrialization of the valley, restoring it to the prosperous position it held in the 1870's. Perhaps. When Northern States Power built a similar plant at Savage, Minn., taxes did drop sharply, at first. That attracted boom builders, who rushed in to construct cheap houses, assessed at low values. Large families moved into them, causing the school to expand, and actually resulting in increasing taxes. Quite aside from the tax issue, construction of the generating plant could detract from the good possibilities of developing the St. Croix valley as a recreational area, which in the end might well be best for Stillwater. But the town still sees itself as an industrial engine of the 1870's, not the suburb of Minneapolis-St. Paul it has become. It is captive of its own recollections of the times when the logs went down the river to the outside world.

JAMES RIDGEWAY

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Judgment in Mississippi

"But *somebody* killed them," said a despairing woman of Philadelphia, that sardonically misnamed town in Mississippi. She referred to the three young idealists – Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman and James E. Chaney – murdered and buried in a mud bank. She was presumably unaware of the mangled pride, honor, truth and gallantry whose butchery was the gravamen of the offense. Twenty-one were arrested by the FBI in connection with this murder, and then released, but that is legalism; the terrific significance of the act is that it was not merely homicide, but homicide tainted with genocide. Homicide is an assault upon the law, but genocide is an assault upon civilization, specifically upon the American theorem that all men are created equal and endowed with inalienable rights. In the persons of three obscure individuals, somebody has murdered Lincoln, and Jefferson and George Washington; and that blood will not cry out from the ground to no purpose.

For the moment, the Twenty-one are free with no charges pending against them. A grand jury willing, however, they or others may someday be charged and be summoned to appear before competent authority. By law, that competent authority is a Mississippi jury, but it is not so in fact. The Mississippi case will be heard, is being heard, by an unseen, nameless jury, scattered over thousands of miles. It is as dreadful a jury as the one empaneled to hear the case of Daniel Webster against the Devil. If that larger jury is not convinced that justice has been done, it will hand down its own verdict, in the form of a shot from the dark through a lighted window, a stick of dynamite wired to the ignition system of an automobile, an ambush similar to the one laid for the three idealists . . . anything that the ingenuity of terrorism can invent.

Anyone who questions the likelihood of this development must have paid little attention to the public deliverances of the extremist minority in the Negro revolt. Is it imaginable that they have had no effect on potential John Browns among their followers?

As it always is, retributive terrorism would be senseless and useless. Consider against whom it would be directed. These Twenty-one, for example? – a couple of peddlers, self-designated "salesmen," three filling-station grease-monkeys, two delivery truck drivers, an ex-Marine heaved out of the Corps with a yellow ticket, a trailer-park manager, a sawmill hand doubling as a hell-roaring religious exhorter, a sheriff, a deputy, and a cop . . . ?

What force could conceivably propel any man into commission of a crime more hideous than plain murder? The answer is not far to seek. It is the policy, pursued for generations by the proper gentlemen of Mississippi, of controlling and manipulating the wool-hat boys, the rednecks, the lint-heads, by stuffing them with lies that blind their eyes to the real world. The policy of white supremacy could be justified, of course, only on the theory of white superiority. In the realm of physical force white superiority did and does exist; the lie was in extending this superiority into the realm of moral and intellectual force, and attributing it to a biological factor, which is to say, the propagation of racism.

Without doubt the proper gentlemen of Mississippi to a large extent were self-deluded. They gulped the nonsense of De Gobineau and Houston Chamberlain and despised such correctives as their native Edgar Gardiner Murphy and Howard Odum. Thus infected with the perennial heresy of the *Herrenvolk*, they regarded as legitimate any measures necessary to hold the inferior masses in order. The shock of the Populist revolt at the end of the 19th Century steeled their determination to maintain control at any cost. The Negroes they could handle with shotguns, but the far more savage poor whites had to be cajoled, even if it meant using such instruments as Bilbo, Blease, Heflin.

The smoothest and most effective method, however, was not political ruffianism, but prostitution of the legend of the Old South. It is so bedraggled and degraded now that the contemporary generation finds it hard to believe that it was once touched with the romantic glamor that induces in men a wish to believe so ardent that they do believe.

In the hands of statesmen of the first order of greatness this might have been a powerful engine of statecraft. It is the tragedy of the South that in the hands of second-raters it remained powerful, but as an engine of petty politics. It was potent to transform the yahoo, in his own eyes, into a *preux chevalier* inhabiting a realm of moonlight and magnolias instead of the moonshine and skunk cabbage of his actual ecology.

Of course, the fantasy was not universally accepted. The stronger intellects in the South perceived the sham and reacted characteristically – Erskine Caldwell, Lillian Smith, Tennessee Williams. The greatest, Faulkner, brooding, became the country's most perfect anatomist of moral and intellectual deterioration. But in general the fantasy prevailed except in the upper South, where the spell was partially shaken off after the First World War. Florida, flooded with alien sun-worshippers, also escaped. But the strip on the Gulf Coast, including Mississippi, remained enthralled. So

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now we have Philadelphia and Twenty-one men walking at large, but not in the familiar ways of men, walking still in the shadow of death, possibly at the hands of the law, but probably under the claws of the fiend that has been conjured up, the terrorism from which America has been almost free for many years. This monster, once released, never stops with the execution even of the roughest justice; always it brings destruction to the innocent and inoffensive. That is why the mere passing-by of the Grinning Twenty-one chills the blood of bystanders.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

Is the Federal Government Helpless?

The dismissal of December 10, by Miss Esther Carter, a United States Commissioner in Meridian, Mississippi, of the federal conspiracy charges growing out of the murder of three civil rights workers last summer in Philadelphia, Mississippi, means only that the men who had earlier been arrested, including the sheriff and deputy sheriff of Philadelphia, no longer have to put up bail. They had been at large anyway since soon after the arrests, and now they are at large without the inconvenience and expense of a bail bond. It had been true all along also that, regardless of what Miss Carter did or did not do, a federal grand jury would have to return an indictment before any trial could be had. For the charges allege commission of a felony punishable by a maximum of 10 years in jail, and under these circumstances the Constitution imposes the requirement of indictment by a local grand jury.

What Miss Carter did is unusual, to say the least. It reflects the ugly mood of the state, and the fact that that mood is shared by many of the federal officials in Mississippi. United States Commissioners are appointed by federal district judges to serve for four-year terms at the pleasure of the district judge. Miss Carter not a lawyer, as is sometimes true of Commissioners, was put in office some three years ago by District Judge Sidney Mize, whose lack of sympathy with the federal government's civil rights policy is notorious. As Commissioner Carter sat at the preliminary hearing on December 10, she had at her side Judge Mize's law clerk. Her ruling that she would not accept an FBI agent's testimony that one of the defendants had confessed and implicated the others could have been overcome if the government had put the author of the confession on the stand, as no doubt it will before the grand jury. This was not done chiefly in order to protect this person, who was in hiding in Louisiana, but to avoid his cross-examination in public at this time. He might well have been intimidated. And it was not worth it, since the decisive proceedings would in any event take place behind closed doors in the grand jury room and not before Commissioner Carter.

Assuming that the painstaking FBI investigation has come up with the right men and has built a substantial case against them, one may hope that enough responsible and fair-minded grand and petit jurors can be found in Mississippi to make a conviction possible. But such a hope has to be tempered with realistic doubt, and despite its inherent insignificance, Commissioner Carter's action must strengthen that doubt. And so once again the question is asked, why is it that the most powerful government on earth, which is well able to pursue and punish counterfeiters, narcotics peddlers, labor racketeers and what have you, cannot punish those who deprive its own citizens of rights guaranteed by its own Constitution? One answer, of course, lies in our federal structure, which we value in the rest of the country, and which it would be difficult to abrogate in Mississippi without undermining it elsewhere. Another, less formal, perhaps more persuasive but harder answer is that the question that is asked is the wrong question, proceeding from extremely shaky premises.

No matter how effective the criminal process may be, it is incapable of eradicating the narcotics traffic or the evil of counterfeiting, and no matter how effective the criminal process might be in Mississippi, it would be incapable of eradicating the racial outrages that are committed in that state. It is disagreeable to watch the breakdown of the federal criminal process in Mississippi. It is heartbreaking that three worthy young men should have been brutally murdered by a mob of ruffians, and that society should be able to do nothing about it. But it is neither fatuous nor insensitive to observe that society can never do anything about such things once they have happened, except to give itself the somewhat primitive satisfaction of visiting its retribution on guilty parties. And by employing the criminal law, society can never effectively prevent such things from happening again. The criminal law does not get at the roots of vicious behavior. This is as true in Mississippi as it is on the streets of Harlem. Certainly efforts should be made to get the criminal process to work in Mississippi. Certainly if it did work, it might have some deterrent effect on the future commission of such outrages. Certainly *ad hoc* expeditions by federal marshals or military police should be made to Mississippi and perhaps to other places in the South in order to give immediate physical protection to people exercising their federal rights. But a real solution to the racial turmoil in Mississippi must come – slowly and painfully – along other avenues, and an acquittal of the Philadelphia defendants, although deeply regrettable, would be merely symptomatic of a situation we know to be bad, which a conviction, although gratifying, would do little to cure.

AMB

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Religion in Russia

by Philip Ben

The huge, yellow-brown Kazan-Sobor building on the Nevski prospect, the main avenue of Leningrad, introduces a note of disharmony into the beautiful architecture of Russia's "second capital." It was once an Orthodox church, a miserable copy of St. Peter's in Rome, odd in a city where great architects of the 18th Century knew how to blend Italian baroque with ancient Russian. For many years now it has housed the "Museum of the History of Religion," the largest religious museum of the Soviet Union. Intourist buses usually pass it by, but a foreigner can get there on his own. Many exhibits haven't changed since the twenties.

A newer section occupying the main floor is where the fight against "remnants of religious prejudice in the USSR" is concentrated. Numerous displays depict the Orthodox church exploiting the *naïveté* of the faithful. A large poster explains how one of the few remaining Orthodox churches in Moscow profits by the sale of candles: "A small candle costs the church 15 kopeks and is being sold at the gate for one ruble, a medium candle costs 27 kopeks, is sold for two rubles. . . ."

Another display tells how an Orthodox priest, now in prison, got money under false pretenses, profiteered, abused minors, and spread anti-Soviet propaganda. Moslem mullahs in faraway Kazakhstan or Uzbekistan are accused of almost identical crimes. One display takes care of Judaism. Three rudimentary paintings are shown. One depicts a Leningrad synagogue with a jazz band playing outside it and couples dancing; the caption reads: "On the Joy of Thora Feast in October 1961 the religious Jews brought jazz music to the synagogue in order to attract the youths." The other two paintings show a young woman taking her newly born child away from dastardly elders in white prayer shawls who wanted to circumcize the baby; a *pionierka* (member of the Communist youth organization) is persuading them to quit their "barbaric ritual."

On it goes. Photographs show credulous crowds kissing the hands of a "holy man," kneeling before him, listening in obvious ecstasy to his preaching. Other photographs show the wealth which these "holy elders" have allegedly extracted from their followers: immense quantities of food, money, gold and silver, precious stones, oriental rugs, ancient ikons, even pigs and cows. Other alleged crimes of "holy elders" are dramatized: bigamy, rape. We see photostats of the indictment and of the verdict. There are photographs of numerous wives and legitimate and illegitimate children of a "holy man."

When driving earlier this year outside Moscow, Kiev or Leningrad, I could not fail to notice the change from 1958, or even 1961, when one often saw a village Orthodox church, empty for decades, being restored. Thus, in 1958, during a visit to the Holy Lavra in Kiev, the most ancient Orthodox church in Russia, I saw thousands of peasants, old, middle-aged, young, lined up in front of the entrance to the underground monastery, where, in the Middle Ages, fanatical monks were entombed and left to die. Their mummified bodies have been uniquely preserved by the exceptionally dry soil and air. In 1958 a few black-robed young monks were controlling the flow of peasants, who after buying candles and throwing rubles on a silver plate entered the dark corridors to kneel at a tomb of a "holy man" and pray. This went on all day. Coming to town, the peasants went first to the market to sell their products, then they shopped in the state stores, and having finished their earthly business they headed toward Lavra. On the way, they were careful to avoid the anti-religious museum just opposite the monastery. They knew that in the museum all the "miracles" of the Lavra are explained away. When I visited Kiev again in 1961 Lavra was closed, "for renovation," I was told.

Now Lavra is open again, but it is no longer an active church; it is a museum. The monks have disappeared. Electric lights have been installed in the long, narrow underground corridors. Instead of monks there are women assistants who accompany each group of visitors, probably to ensure that the peasants, who continue to come here in great numbers, do not kneel in front of the tombs.

"You ask why Lavra was closed," an acquaintance in Kiev said. "It is simple. Can the authorities tolerate such a permanent demonstration of the persistence of religious feelings, in so famous a place? In the darkest days of the war against Hitler, Stalin chose to tolerate the church, and he drew from it great benefit. After Stalin this policy was continued. But around 1960 the party realized that the church was getting too powerful, and this despite the tight control over the priests." Here my acquaintance stopped briefly, lowered his

PHILIP BEN *has made frequent trips to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. He is a correspondent for* Le Monde *and* Maariv *of Tel Aviv.*

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voice and with a bitter smile on his lips, added: "You see, a *pop* [an Orthodox priest] or a bishop can be an agent of the police. But the thousands, the millions who pray in churches and outside them, they are not. . . ."

The activities of the Orthodox Metropolitan in Moscow, the titular head of the Russian church, have been curtailed. A few years ago his headquarters was known to own workshops producing everything needed by the church, from small prints of saints costing a few kopeks to prayer books and objects of silver and gold; 5,000 workers were reportedly employed and this multiple production assured the church a very substantial income. The workshops still exist but produce much less. "In one respect only, the Orthodox church is under no restriction," I was told in Moscow: "In its relations with churches of all denominations abroad. On the contrary, our church dignitaries have never traveled as much, to Western Europe and America, to the Near East and India, even to Japan and Australia, as they do now. Some mullahs from Bukhara or Tashkent are allowed to travel to Mecca; there are several Soviet students at the Moslem Academy in Cairo. The party is jealous of church influence on the people in Russia, not of its contacts abroad."

The first signal of the new anti-religious offensive came in 1961 when a special, retroactive income tax was imposed on clergy of all denominations. The reason was not hard to find. The Orthodox church was as wealthy as it had ever been in Russia, despite the fact that since the Revolution it has had no land or state subsidies. Poor peasants, and the faithful in cities, put enough on the plates of the churches to assure their upkeep in all the splendor required by the Orthodox rite, as well as assuring a good living for the clergy.

I shall never forget the young *pop* from a village near Odessa who was our table companion at the "Day of Young Christians," organized during the International Youth Festival in 1957, which brought to the "holy" town of Zagorsk, near Moscow, hundreds of priests from all over Russia. After a few glasses of vodka this red-bearded priest became very talkative: "There is no better profession than mine in the whole Soviet Union. More and more people are coming to me to be married, to baptize their babies, to bury their dead. With what they pay me for those services I easily make 3,000 rubles [those were old rubles, equivalent of the present 300]. This is twice the salary of the chief agricultural expert in the neighboring *sovkhoz*, much more than the best tractor-drivers get. . . . And the faithful don't forget my church either. We have been able to repaint the building, make all needed repairs. Old people say that even under the Czar the church was not so well kept as it is now. . . ."

This year in Moscow a man who knows what is going on in church matters said after hearing this story: "Today he would boast less. He certainly has already paid thousands of rubles of the special income tax, and he probably owes the state many more thousands. As to his church, I am not sure whether it is still open, despite those renovations. So many churches have been closed. . . ."

The closing of churches is particularly widespread in Western Ukraine, which until 1939 belonged to Poland. This province was the mainstay of Ukrainian nationalism. The Ukrainians did not belong to the Orthodox but to the Uniate Church, which was a Vatican-directed congregation adhering to Eastern rites. Many West-Ukrainian nationalists collaborated during the war with the Nazis against the Soviets, the Poles and the Jews. The Soviets after their reconquest of those territories tried to abolish the Uniate Church, but in 1961 peasants from the surrounding countryside were streaming to the 16 churches of Lvov, capital of Western Ukraine; they were faithful to the old religion and they sang old national songs. Today, in contrast, more than half of the Lvov churches are closed, including the former Uniate cathedral. A few months ago, squads of construction workers arrived and started putting scaffoldings around the closed cathedral in order to transform the building into a Communist youth club. As a result there were hostile demonstrations and a great number of arrests.

The authorities are also closing Orthodox churches in Western Ukraine, as well as most of the few remaining Roman Catholic churches and the Jewish synagogues, though the Poles and Jews could hardly be suspected of sympathy for the Ukrainian nationalists. To a Jewish engineer in Lvov, a man occupying an executive office in a local industrial combine, the reasons were clear: "The only remaining synagogue in our town was closed a year ago under the pretext that people coming to pray there were in reality engaged in black market and illicit foreign currency dealings. All this was nonsense. One doesn't need a synagogue or a church for a black market deal. But our regime couldn't afford to close Orthodox churches and let the synagogue remain untouched. The regime is still afraid of being considered pro-Jewish. This dates from the early days of the Hitler aggression, when Stalin discovered with what tremendous speed the anti-Jewish slogans of the Nazis were spreading among the Soviet masses, including the Soviet soldiers fighting with such bravery against the aggressors. I was then a major in the army and will never forget the day when the order came that we would get new, assumed, Russian-sounding names. And under those new names we were soon transferred to other units where the soldiers didn't know us. Well, I don't believe it helped much. Since Hitler, the Russians, Ukrainians, and Lithuanians know how to find out who a Jew is."

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Why We Need Medicare

by Michael H. Alderman

Today there are 15 million Americans over 65; by 1970 there will be 17 million. They need more doctoring than the majority of us; they are more prone to suffer from degenerative diseases affecting the heart, lungs, digestive tract and arteries. Treatment of those diseases tends to be prolonged and expensive. An average American couple over the age of 65 typically spends $312 a year on medical expenses other than hospitalization; and in any year the typical elderly individual has a 13-percent chance of being hospitalized. The brutal economic meaning of those high costs is that advancing medical science has endowed many elderly couples with more life than they can afford. Both life expectancy and medical costs seem destined to continue to grow. A person who attains a 65th birthday can nowadays reasonably anticipate living to 80. This upward creep of the number of long-living Americans has overburdened communities that seek to provide free or subsidized medical services to those who need them but can't afford them. The welfare departments, local hospital facilities, volunteer physicians, are all overstrained. The melancholy net result is that such medical care has become restricted and is provided for a rigidly defined group that is indigent and has to prove it.

Since the enactment of the Social Security Act in 1935, the federal government has provided financial assistance for medical care of the elderly through a variety of means – but principally Old Age Assistance. These programs have become inadequate, and in 1960, Congress included in a bill amending the Social Security Act a section establishing a new program to help elderly people needing medical care that they could not pay for by themselves. Title VI of that Act, known as Kerr-Mills, authorizes annual appropriation of funds from the general Treasury revenues for the purpose. States which want that federal money must individually enact programs of medical assistance for the elderly. The federal government contributes from 50 to 80 percent of the cost of the programs based on a formula designed to give a larger percentage to the states whose citizens have smaller incomes. The funds are disbursed by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, after he is satisfied that a state has complied with requirements designed to prevent any sort of discrimination in the administration of the program. The Act states that services provided may include hospital, nursing home, physicians, nurses, laboratory, X-ray, dental and any other medical services recognized by state law. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare maintains a number of councils that are ready to advise the states on the type and quality of their programs; but the councils are purely advisory, and each state is free to determine its own program.

Thirty-nine states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico have so far passed enabling legislation under the Kerr-Mills Act. Their individual programs vary considerably in scope, in eligibility requirements and in benefits provided. Consider the hospitalization provisions made by the participating jurisdictions. Twenty-three of these will pay for hospitalization, for varying lengths of time, that is made necessary by any illness. However, 16 states specifically limit the type of disease for which they will finance in-patient care. In some states only "acute" or "chronic" conditions justify subsidized hospitalization. In others, it must be a "life-threatening" or "contagious" disease. Some of the states require each specific expenditure to be approved by the welfare board. Not only are the permissible causes for hospitalization defined, but frequently the length of hospital stay is sharply delimited. Only 17 states permit more than 30 days of paid hospitalization yearly, regardless of the illness. Some states allow only 14 days in hospital each year – compare this with the medical fact that four weeks in hospital are regarded as necessary after a heart attack, a common ailment of the elderly. Yet in other states, the limit is only 10 days of hospitalization per illness.

Only 28 of the areas operating programs under Kerr-Mills have made provisions for nursing-home care. Nineteen of those 28 states specifically define the nature of the medical condition for which payment of nursing-home costs will be made, as well as the length of stay permitted. In some states nursing-home care is allowed only if it follows hospitalization. New Hampshire, for example, permits payment of nursing-home costs for 26 days after hospitalization for a "life-threatening" illness.

Twenty-seven states have included in their programs

MICHAEL H. ALDERMAN, MD, *attended Harvard College and Yale Medical School, and is in the US Public Health Service at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Maryland.*

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provisions for covering the cost of drugs. Medicines account for about one-quarter of the medical expenditures of the elderly. Unlike the doctor's fee or hospital prices, these cannot be adjusted according to ability to pay. In nine of these 27 states the drugs purchased by the Medical Assistance Act are restricted to those required to treat certain illnesses or by total cost.

Kerr-Mills permits direct payment of physicians' fees. Such fees represent another one-quarter of the health-care dollar of the elderly. But 27 states require the welfare department to appoint the doctor, determine where he may see his patient, and how often. In some states, physicians' services are provided only in the hospital, in others in the out-patient clinic as well. Home or office visits are often limited to specified illnesses. The welfare department is sometimes required to approve each payment of a physician's fee.

The vague and permissive guidelines established by Congress have thus resulted in state programs of a widely different character. Some states have very restrictive programs. Examples are Alabama, which provides limited hospitalization for specified illnesses, no drug or nursing-home coverage; and Oregon, which provides 14 days of hospitalization yearly, 26 days in a nursing home, no physician's services or drugs. This is in contrast to the unlimited benefits available in seven states: New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Iowa, Michigan, North Dakota and Washington, D.C. These states had well-established comprehensive health programs before Kerr-Mills was passed; they have simply transferred many of the recipients of local welfare to a federally subsidized program. Two-thirds of the recipients of Kerr-Mills assistance live in California, New York or Massachusetts. Almost 90 percent of Kerr-Mills funds are spent in California, New York, Massachusetts and Michigan.

The kind of benefits provided by the states is critical to an evaluation of the program. Of equal significance is a determination of who benefits by the program. Does the program provide for those who cannot otherwise afford adequate medical care? Eligibility tests established by the states vary widely. But examination of the standards adopted by the individual participating jurisdictions reveals that the couple with a $3,000 yearly income, and assets, exclusive of home and car, of $4,000, are everywhere ineligible for Kerr-Mills coverage. Indeed, some states limit assets to $800 and total income to $1,800 per couple. The median permissible income is $2,300, a figure which eliminates 52 percent of all couples over 65; and the median figure for allowable assets is $2,000, eliminating many more. Thus it is clear that Kerr-Mills, which was not designed for the wealthy, is likewise unavailable to the huge middle-income group, and serves only the medically indigent. While Kerr-Mills may shift the financial burden of such assistance from community to federal government, it affects the recipient little. All too often the same people are receiving the same medical care that was previously available.

Thus, state implementation of medical care programs under Kerr-Mills has produced three great weaknesses. Arbitrary definitions, such as allowable duration of hospital stay, have severely influenced what should be purely medical decisions. Eligibility tests bearing no relation to medical need have excluded most of those who require assistance. Finally, the program as implemented does not provide total medical care. What could have been in many ways a thoroughly satisfactory program is a failure.

Since Kerr-Mills has failed to answer the need, what other solutions are available? The AMA has claimed that individual resources and private insurance are adequate to fill the gap left by Kerr-Mills. Accepting for the moment the AMA's assumption that hospital costs constitute the whole problem, how does the family with an income of $3,000 and assets of $4,000, and so disqualified from Kerr-Mills coverage, provide for its medical needs? Are their own resources sufficient to provide for hospitalization? Just recall that each year there is a 13-percent chance that one of the elderly will require hospitalization. Hospital bed costs vary widely, but the average cost of an urban ward bed is $36 a day. Laboratory, X-ray, electrocardiogram, and physicians' fee are additional charges. The total cost of one hospital stay for, say, the standard four-week post-heart attack period would be in excess of $1,100. More than 25 percent of this self-sufficient couple's savings would be gone. Not getting younger or healthier, they would seem destined to join the medically indigent.

If the AMA is correct, private insurance must then satisfy the need left unfilled by Kerr-Mills and private resources. An appraisal of existing plans does not support that claim. Their value is compromised by a number of factors. In some cases the only available form of insurance is a combination hospital-surgical plan. This is usually prohibitively expensive (in Washington,

COMING: *Why are the doctors out of step with society? — by Louis Lasagna*

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D. C., $480 per year). This probably reflects the economic exigencies of a narrow base. These comprehensive plans frequently will not pay for medical costs arising from conditions existing at the institution of coverage. In other words the individual who has gall stones at age 65, when such a policy is instituted, may not obtain payment if it subsequently becomes necessary to remove his gall bladder. Chronic illness, which may later require acute treatment, is exactly the kind of problem so common among the elderly. In many areas, elderly people are given only a limited period each year in which to subscribe to the less expensive, simple hospitalization plans (Connecticut 30 days, and Washington, D. C., 15 days annually). Of greater significance, however, is the fact that benefits paid under these schemes usually fall short of meeting even the hospital bill. According to HEW figures, only 42 percent of the hospital bills rendered to those carrying private insurance are covered as much as 75 percent by that insurance.

Although these exclusions and limitations severely curtail the value of private insurance, the most telling argument against its efficacy is that it is too expensive for those most in need of it. The couple with a $3,000 yearly income, thereby ineligible for Kerr-Mills coverage, cannot afford it. According to government statistics, this couple's basic budget (including food $780, housing $720, clothing and cleaning $200, automobile and insurance $300, taxes $255, nonhospital medical expenses $312, newspaper, magazine, haircuts, entertainment $260) totals $2,827, and does not provide the $240 required to purchase simple hospital insurance. Only 54 percent of those over 65 have even that inadequate coverage. Only a quarter of them have insurance that is "'adequate" by the standards of the American Hospital Association. How frequently the cost is borne by children cannot be determined. It might be argued that an elderly couple ought to reduce its $5 weekly reading, haircut and entertainment allowance, or sell its car, to raise the necessary funds. Our affluent society should be able to do better. Through a broad-based system of social insurance, an occasional movie, dinner out, and modest vacation as well as hospital insurance ought to be within the reach of the elderly.

As existing provisions for financing health care needs of the elderly are inadequate, alternative measures are being widely discussed. One proposal, which received some support at the recent AMA meeting in Miami, suggests that the federal government subsidize private insurance schemes, either by granting tax rebates for the individual purchase of such policies or having the government pay premiums directly. The AMA decided not to support such a plan. Indeed, its inadequacies are manifest. Private insurance plans at present do not provide comprehensive medical protection for the elderly.

Another alternative, the King-Anderson Bill (Medicare), has attracted the widest support and seems likely, in some form, to become law at the next session of Congress. The AMA claims that King-Anderson is unnecessary since existing programs (Kerr-Mills, private insurance, and individual resources) adequately finance medical care for the elderly. It states that King-Anderson violates the sanctity of freedom of the doctor-patient relationship. Finally, the AMA attacks King-Anderson as inadequate.

No Federal Interference

The preceding discussion clearly refutes the first assertion. The second point is also fallacious. The King-Anderson Bill disclaims any intention of interfering with the practice of medicine. It specifically says that no federal official may construe this bill as providing authority to so interfere. It makes no provision for the assumption of responsibility for individual physician's fees. The bill is limited to payment for institutionally based services. Removal of financial considerations from the physician's decision to hospitalize a patient can only enhance the freedom the doctor enjoys in caring for his patient. The AMA takes exception to the stipulation that payment will be made only to appropriately accredited institutions. But the bill bases acceptability on accreditation by the AMA-sponsored Joint Commission on Hospital Accreditation. This could hardly be called undue federal interference. No doubt hospitals considered substandard by the AMA, and thus by the government, will nevertheless continue to exist. But it would be bizarre for the AMA to champion federal subsidization of patient care at them.

The AMA's final objection to Medicare, that it is inadequate, deserves closer attention. Briefly, this bill proposes to pay some medical care costs by broadening Social Security. It will cover all persons aged 65 and over, regardless of whether they qualify for other Social Security benefits. The principal feature of the bill is the provision for assumption of hospital and nursing-home costs. Eligible individuals may choose either 45 days of hospital care yearly without paying anything, or up to 180 days under a plan whereby the individual must pay up to $90 himself. The standard in-patient services, room and board, nursing service, diagnostic and laboratory studies, as well as medical care provided by interns and residents engaged in AMA-approved training programs, are all covered by this plan. Services by other physicians or surgeons are specifically excluded. Care in a nursing home, including all the standard features except physician's services, is provided up to 240 days annually. Out-patient services are also available, but on a more limited basis. No pri-

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vate physicians' fees are covered. Home visits by nurses are permitted up to 240 per year, when recommended by any licensed physician. Diagnostic studies in hospital clinics are provided in limited amount – again excluding the doctor's participation. Auxiliary services such as those of social service workers and physical therapists are provided in hospital, and on a limited scale as out-patient services. Payment for drugs is limited to those used in the hospital.

The rules for participation by hospitals and nursing homes established under King-Anderson are not restrictive. Hospitals and nursing homes must be accredited as already stated. They are furthermore required, when size permits, to maintain a professional panel, of the hospital's selection, to review regularly the merit of prolonged hospitalizations and make appropriate recommendations. Each hospital must have state-licensed physicians and nurses on the staff and provide 24-hour nursing care. All of the services provided both in and out of the hospital must be recommended by a licensed physician or nurse. Each hospital is to have bylaws, and clinical records must be kept. These provisos only reflect the current minimal standards of medical care employed to protect the patient.

A New Approach for the AMA

This summary of the King-Anderson Bill does, in fact, sustain the AMA's contention that it is inadequate. By essentially limiting coverage to institutional costs, it will cover in the neighborhood of one-third of the total medical care bills of the elderly. Organized medicine, however, does not meet its obligation merely by recognizing this flaw in the Medicare proposal. It must overcome the misconception that carping criticism is enough. If the AMA is to regain a meaningful voice, it must recognize the fact that the cost of medical care is beyond the reach of many older citizens, and seek a solution to that problem. The AMA has, so far, failed because it denies the existence of the problem.

A tone of implacable opposition did not always characterize the deliberations of the AMA. Another AMA resolution, dealing with the same subject, said, in part, "It is . . . of the utmost importance that physicians . . . abandon the attitude of unreasoning opposition which has characterized . . . professional discussions on [social insurance] . . . educate the American medical profession in the general principles of social insurance . . . the insurance laws dealing with all matters of medical aid [should] be prepared with the active cooperation and under the careful scrutiny of the profession. Blind opposition, indignant repudiation, bitter denunciation of these laws is worse than useless: it leads nowhere and it leaves the profession in a position of helplessness if the rising tide of social development sweeps over them." This quotation represents the tenor of the report of the Committee on Social Insurance adopted by the 1919 AMA convention. It was a call to the medical profession to make a positive contribution to social welfare legislation, recognized, even then, to be both necessary and inevitable.

The time for a positive proposal is now, if organized medicine is to influence "the rising tide of social development." Any such proposal should be consistent with the fundamental principles of modern medicine. Three pertinent fundamentals are: The total man must be considered by the ministering physician. Treatment must be tailored to the needs of the individual. And every man deserves medical care of the highest caliber. Thus, personal degradation through imposition of a means test to determine eligibility for medical coverage is inconsistent with medicine's concern for the total man. Medical need alone should determine coverage – all the elderly must be eligible. The second principle, individuality, demands that the patient and doctor select treatment unhampered by extraneous predetermined codes. To achieve this goal, the program must be comprehensive. Inclusion, as in Medicare, of some services or types of treatment (*i.e.*, hospital care) and exclusion of others (*i.e.*, home care by physicians) introduces an irrelevant financial factor into what should be a purely medical decision. A federal program which physicians can conscientiously support must provide hospital and nursing-home care, the services of physicians, surgeons, dentists, nurses, and auxiliary persons, diagnostic and laboratory studies, and drugs. All these goods and services must be available at the medically appropriate place. The patient, of course, must be free to select his own physician. To effect the third principle, highest quality medical care, this proposal should include utilization of professional specialty boards and local societies. These groups have traditionally set the high standards of medical practice.

These principles represent the area of greatest specific concern to the physician. There are, however, other important considerations. Professional fee schedules should be established by existing practice with provision for regular revision in cooperation with those concerned – in the same fashion as the AMA-endorsed Blue Shield and Blue Cross programs at present operate. The most equitable means to implement this aspect of the plan might be local or regional groups working within nationally established guidelines. Finally, medical care for the aged should be recognized as a national obligation, such as the conquest of space or the war on poverty, and financed similarly. The social security scheme, placing proportionally the greater burden on those with the smallest incomes, is inconsistent with this view. The direct income tax represents the fairest economic base.

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The Elder Kennedy

by William V. Shannon

Joseph P. Kennedy was a fascinated but unimportant bystander during his second son's rise to national prominence and election to the Presidency. Since December, 1961, he has been a mute, partially paralyzed stroke victim. It would have made little difference to history if he had died or been stricken ten years earlier.

It would have made a great deal of difference, however, in the title and the implicit thesis of this book. Joseph Kennedy is presented as "the founding father" of a political dynasty and the man responsible in large part for the political success and the distinctive political style of his sons. The weight of the author's own evidence does not support this thesis. The evidence, presuming it exists, would have been forthcoming only if the author, a sophisticated young conservative of the William Buckley school who first became prominent for a *Fortune* article on the sources of Joseph Kennedy's wealth, had enjoyed access to Kennedy family secrets or been a privileged observer of its activities over a long period. But the family, for obvious reasons, kept Mr. Whalen at bay. On the political activities of the Kennedys, there is nothing in this book that has not been previously published, notably in James MacGregor Burns's *John Kennedy* and *Front Runner, Dark Horse*, by Ralph G. Martin and Ed Plaut.

The Founding Father
The Story of Joseph P. Kennedy
by Richard J. Whalen
(NAL-World Book; $6.95)

The elder Kennedy provided his sons with two immense advantages: his wealth and the legend of his own success. Both were valuable, the legend perhaps even more than the money, because linked with the earlier fame of "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald, their grandfather, it gave the Kennedy sons a unique prestige in the eye of the Massachusetts Irish. But the point about these advantages is that once in existence, they were not susceptible to Joseph Kennedy's manipulation or control. The money and the fame made local political careers easier for his sons, but they did not guarantee success in national politics nor determine the course of his sons' political careers. The father's political influence with his sons depended upon the quality of his advice. It was frequently ignored and, when followed, as often as not turned out badly. His standing as a reactionary and an American Firster, and his exaggerated reputation as an anti-Semite were considerable handicaps to his sons in national politics.

John Kennedy – who was least like his father and least subject to his influence – was the most successful of the sons. It is painful but instructive to recall the short political career of Joseph Kennedy, Jr., who died a hero's death in World War II. He was his father's favorite and close to him in temperament and outlook. In 1940, he was an active member of the America First Committee and as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention backed James A. Farley against a third term for Roosevelt. If he had lived and had adopted, however briefly, his father's pro-McCarthy opinions, he would not have become the Democratic Party's nominee for President. In short, the brothers were not interchangeable. It was John Kennedy, and he alone, who convinced the liberal community that he would be a liberal chief executive, who convinced non-Catholics that he would be President of all the people, and whose own political self-education brought him to the top. It was he, and not his father, who made the crucial difference between just another junior senator and a President of the United States and who thereby opened the way to the Senate for his younger brothers.

Leaving aside his putative role as political guide and mentor, Joseph Kennedy was undoubtedly a success as a father. But the author does not take us very far into the mystery of this success. "Until Kennedy's departure from Hollywood, the task of family-building was almost entirely Rose's. . . . As the thirties opened and the older boys rose into their teens, Kennedy assumed the major role in supervising their development, a welcome figure in what had long been Rose's lonely and demanding 'department'." Yet what happens to a child before he is seven is critical. A father who actively enters a boy's life only in his teens is usually arriving too late. Kennedy was away from his family for weeks at a time working in Wall Street and, later, in Hollywood, and Washington. The mystery is – why didn't his sons become mama's boys? Perhaps we should have a book on "The Founding Mother."

The book is best when it concentrates on Joseph Kennedy's own career in business and government, a legitimate and lively story in its own right.

The author has done some excellent research and with smooth, professional competence has written a consistently interesting narrative. Kennedy was the ambitious young entrepreneur in pure form: scrambling for a dollar even as a boy, drudging as a bank examiner to learn the fundamentals of banking, hustling to sell real estate and drum up business for his tiny bank, and, in Horatio Alger-fashion, tirelessly seeking out men of wealth and prominence who could help him. He shifted to stock brokerage and, as he grew in self-confidence, moved from Boston to take on the bigger sharks of Wall Street. Easily the freshest and most entertaining chapters are the two on Kennedy's activities as a movie-maker in Hollywood. Whalen recounts fully and with some details how Kennedy subsequently enhanced his fortune in liquor, real estate, and oil.

Underneath the thoroughness and clarity of his presentation, however,

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the author seems to feel a deep ambivalence about Kennedy as businessman. "His view of the economy was superficial and self-centered. He was a capitalist, yet one who stood apart from the *system* of finance, production, and distribution. He had no business, in the ordinary sense, and wanted none. He was adept at manipulating the externals – the price of a stock, the structure of a corporation; yet he had no deep understanding of the inner mechanism of the market economy, the interplay of individual decisions and actions that circulated goods and wealth through society." We might well ask how many businessmen do have this "deep understanding"? Whalen, making this harsh judgment on the Kennedy of 1932, adds: "In his anxiety over the future, Kennedy could see only the flaws in the system, which he feared would provoke a radical redistribution of wealth. Anxious to forestall this, he would surrender the free economy to protect at least part of the wealth he had gained by exploiting it."

But much later, he quotes several rather admiring appraisals of Kennedy near the end of his career in the 1950's: He was "'a natural in business, the way Caruso was a natural in singing.' Kennedy had no permanent business 'because he had the real banker's instinct – like old J. P. Morgan. He preferred to pick winners, to find somebody who had a good thing going, and then back him. He wanted to be in a lot of things, not have his time and money tied up in one place.' To another friend, whose fortunes were bound up with the giant corporation he had founded, Kennedy seemed a 'pure capitalist,' committed single-mindedly to gaining the maximum return on his invested capital, unattached to any institution or organization."

Whether the author finally sees his subject as Joe Kennedy, the freebooting exploiter of our economic system or as J. P. Kennedy, the pure capitalist in the grand, J. P. Morgan manner is uncertain. No final judgment, moral or otherwise, is offered. There shines through only a successful young journalist's admiration for an immensely successful rich man and a vague disapproval of his willingness to spend freely for his sons' political advancement.

The elder Kennedy wanted public office because he coveted honors, prestige, and some kind of invulnerable respectability. He became an early Roosevelt backer because he shrewdly judged him to be a winner, and Kennedy always wanted to be with the winner. After putting in yeoman service as chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Maritime Commission, he received the kind of post he dearly wanted. He became the first Irish Catholic Ambassador to the Court of St. James. The author is severe, but not unjust, in rating Kennedy a failure as an envoy because his temperament was ill-suited to the restraints and niceties of diplomacy and his instinctive pessimism lured him into a total commitment to Neville Chamberlain's appeasement policy.

Joseph Kennedy's own public career therefore ended in anti-climax and defeat. He had no recourse except to retreat to money-making and leave further success in public life to his sons. This is a common parental displacement of concern from self to progeny. Joseph Kennedy was exceptional only in the success his sons enjoyed in fulfilling a father's fond wishes.

Passages to India

by Stanley Kauffmann

The most admirable Publisher's Note I have ever read is on the jacket of R. K. Narayan's *The Printer of Malgudi*, issued by Michigan State University Press in 1957. The note explains that, five years before, they took the unusual step for a university press of publishing this author's first novel in America after trying to persuade a commercial publisher to take it on; they then published four more of his novels, each with critical success.

Gods, Demons, and Others
by R. K. Narayan
(Viking; $6.50)

> "And now, with the publication of *The Printer of Malgudi*, we are happy to be able to announce that this is the last of Mr. Narayan's novels we will publish. In the future he will be published by The Viking Press, one of the finest houses in American publishing. We feel that we have done our duty in introducing Mr. Narayan to the American public and that The Viking Press will be able to carry his books to a wider public than we could ever reach."

It might almost have been written by a Narayan character. One hopes it has proved true, that many have discovered Malgudi, the town in Southern India that Narayan has created in his novels with affectionate humor and an eye to historic changes.

Now Viking presents, in an attractive volume illustrated by the author's brother, fifteen very old Indian tales retold by Narayan. He explains that these are truly storytellers' stories. Every village has such a storyteller, usually an old man. "When people want a story, at the end of their day's labors in the fields, they silently assemble in front of his home, particularly on evenings when the moon shines through the coconut palms." These stories, traditional like those of all the world's village storytellers, have certain particularities. First, they are steeped in religion. They exemplify divine attributes, mortal virtues and failings *vis-à-vis* religious precept, demonic schemes, basic moral unity. Chesterton said of Aesop that there is only one moral to all the fables because there is only one moral to everything. This is sound Hinduism, but Aesop is dramatized homily in which the point is not clear until the end. These Indian stories start, grow, and conclude in a numinous ambience. As in Greek myths, a line between man's free will and the gods' determination is never firmly drawn. And as in those myths and the Old Testament, man's confrontation with the divine is constant, both in dialogue and influence. Throughout these stories man is learning his place, hierarchical and moral, in the cosmos; and the stories live because each new generation must learn the same cosmogony, simultane-

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ously certified and imposed by the billions who have preceded them. In these stories are both the strengths of tradition and a hint of the past as burden.

A second particularity of these stories is the way they use time, neither in a linear way nor in the variations of the linear by flashback and vision to which we are accustomed. Speaking of *The Ramayana,* the great epic by Valmiki from which some of these stories derive, Narayan says:

> "The time scheme of the epic is somewhat puzzling to us who are habituated to a mere horizontal sequence of events. . . . One has to set aside all one's habitual notions of movement and get used to a narrative going backwards and forwards and sideways. When we take into consideration the fact that a king ruled for sixty thousand or more years, enjoying an appropriate longevity, it seems quite feasible that the character whose past or middle period is being written about continues to live and turns up to have a word with the historian."

The explication is helpful, but let it not sound forbidding; the adjustment is not difficult. In fact the West has, in its technology, a kind of lubricant of the imagination. In these days of stratospheric weightlessness, of circling the globe in two hours – indeed, in the stopping, reversal, dilation of time in the cinema – the flights of Hindu imagination are apposite. A man who can see other men's past incarnations is not so remote from men who have made fine wires into brains with histories and judgments; both are acts of intense imaginative will.

The stories are divided into five groups, each with a topic: adventures of mortals; sublimation; God in action; wifely devotion; kingly principle. They are told by Narayan with an uncoy simplicity. (The dialogue has its own archaic charm. A highwayman, asking his victims to hand over their money: "You are seven and may be hiding something among yourselves. Immediately deliver it, will you?") Almost every story starts with an ostensible intent, then, as Narayan promised, refocuses, flowers unexpectedly along its tangents. There is a slight, pleasant tedium to most of the longer ones, like

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just a bit too much lovely sightseeing.

All travelers convert currency in their heads as they go; so with trips into foreign myth. There is no question of reducing the unfamiliar to the familiar, for we do not live in One World and "they" are not, at bottom, just like "us." But there is a lingua franca in mythology, and familiar themes give us a ground from which to assimilate the less familiar. The theme of wifely devotion through dreadful adversity (in *Nala* and *Shakuntala*) is already part of our tradition through the *Arabian Nights*. *Harischandra* and *Sibi* are versions of the Job theme, man being tested by Heaven (in more ways than Heaven sometimes seems aware of). *Lavana*, in which ages pass in an instant, is like the legend, retold by Stevenson, of the monk who grew old while listening to a bird's song. *Savitri* is, essentially, Orpheus and Eurydice with the roles reversed. There is just enough echo in it all to give us some paradoxical feeling of rediscovering the new.

It ought also to be noted that, as in Japan, another country whose immense past is greatly involved in its busy present, the old tales of India are very much a part of their films. *Harischandra* was one of the first long films made in India. *Shakuntala*, dramatized 1,500 years ago by Kalidasa, was made into one of the major postwar Indian films. *Savitri* was filmed in the silent days and has subsequently appeared in six different sound versions.

Narayan provides some explanatory material both before and after the tales, helpful because profusion is the essence of both the terminology and the religion. Nothing need be memorized though certainly not all the names and traits and epochs can be remembered. Despite the profligacy of odd terms, the book appeals and illuminates, though, unlike other myths, it never deeply moves us. Two impressions are dominant: this religion of serenity and peace has a legendary base of bloodshed that makes the Norse sagas look mild. Women, who are of course inferior, have humbly to be wiser than the wise men; there are several women in these stories who want children by sages and have to entice the men into fatherhood.

And there is one unforgettable parenthetical comment at the end of a passage about a certain king:

> "He was childless. He devoted all his hours to praying for issue. . . . The goddess Savitri, whose hymn he recited a hundred thousand times as a part of his prayer, appeared before him and conferred on him the boon of a daughter (although he prayed for a son). . . ."

How can their religion fail a people so ancient in acceptances?

The Wealth of West Germany

by Alex Campbell

My sole link with the First World War is a childish memory of a street hawker selling German million-mark bills for pennies. This must have been about 1923, when occupation soldiers were returning from Germany with souvenirs including fabulous funny money. Much later, a professor of economics told me the following wry German fable dating from the great 1920-23 inflation: there were two German brothers, a miser and a spendthrift; when the inflation ended the saver had only worthless money but the spender still lived well, by exchanging his rich possessions for necessities.

Germany's Economic Dilemma
by Patrick M. Boarman
(Yale; $7.50)

After the Second World War the Germans unwisely forgot this fable. Again they were hit by inflation, and this time the ruin of the currency was assisted by the Western Allies obligingly giving the Russians a set of Reichsmark printing plates on request. A streetcar conductor's entire month's wages would not buy even a pound of butter. Yet the Germans persisted in acquiring money rather than goods. In the decade of the fifties, Germany presented the ironical spectacle of a modern Midas, desperately manufacturing goods to send abroad, in exchange for gold that the Germans dared not use (for if the gold were used as a basis for credit, instead of being "sterilized" as soon as it was acquired, this might very well have led to inflation).

This it seems is the real story behind the well-publicized German economic "miracle." Under the guidance of Dr. Ludwig Erhard, who was then Minister of Economics and is now Chancellor, an obedient nation worked hard, saved mightily, managed to absorb more than 10 million refugees from the East while *reducing* the West German unemployment rate from 10.3 percent of the labor force in 1950 to a mere 0.7 percent in 1962, and at the same time expanded production at a rate two or three times greater than the US has achieved at the best of times. But the other side of the miraculous coin was that the Germans slaved to enrich Germany's Western neighbors rather than themselves.

Though German real wages did rise, productivity and profits rose more. The economic "miracle" apparently entailed whipped cream and candy, night clubs and limousines for the few and hard work for the many. Overtime earnings were tax-exempt (to persuade workers to put their backs into it) but the tax system as a whole bore down hard on workers and lightly on profits. In 1950, 95 percent of German earners were getting less than $1,715 a year; six years later 86.8 percent were thus underprivileged though in the meantime the net national income had almost doubled.

The labor unions were afraid to ask more wages for their members, for fear of causing inflation. Simultaneously, high profits induced a high rate of investment. The German government added to it by using the forced savings implicit in large budget surpluses to provide over 43 percent of total net investment directly, while providing more indirectly by taxing profits so lightly.

The low self-imposed ceiling on most German incomes had two main consequences. German imports have traditionally been consumer-oriented: low incomes of consumers meant that imports were held down to a comparatively modest level despite the fan-

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tastic rises in German productivity. The heavy investment that took place under the spur of high, lightly-taxed profits went mainly into producing goods for export; since there was not a large German market, the only way to dispose of the goods being manufactured in rapidly increasing quantities was to sell them abroad. Thus the Germans helped to raise living standards abroad while keeping their own well below what they could have achieved. Germany, for instance, provided the rest of the world with the most up-to-date Diesel and electric locomotives, trolley cars, streetcars and motorcars, all of which she badly lacked herself. She regularly exported half her annual auto output, though having only half as many cars in ratio to population as the United Kingdom.

In place of a higher living standard for the majority of Germans, West Germany acquired gold from abroad, in exchange for her steady export surpluses of goods. She managed to collect and store in her bank vaults more gold than any other country in the world except the US. In the decade of the fifties, German exports increased 546 percent (in the same period, all world exports rose about 100 percent).

The rest of the world proved singularly ungrateful. Although Germany reduced her tariffs by more than half, and paid off some of her debts even before they fell due, she was twice reproached by her neighbors for not behaving as a good creditor should. The other countries resented Germany's favorable trade balance and her accumulation of gold; resented also, no doubt, her holier-than-thou attitude toward their own unbalanced trade and budgets, and welfare spending. Germany's surplus exports to them enabled them to devote some resources, without real sacrifice on their part, to aiding underdeveloped countries, but they upbraided a "rich" Germany for not participating sufficiently in the distribution of foreign aid.

That the economic "miracle" was to some degree phony, and Germany's "wealth" in part a monetary myth, will appear tolerably clear to readers of Mr. Boarman's always excellent if occasionally too-cockily written book. Oddly enough, in the face of his own neatly marshalled evidence, he seems to think that somehow Germany was right and

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her laxer neighbors wrong in what they did. An economic Puritan, he too has forgotten the fable of the two brothers, though he clearly perceives the absurdity of preferring money to goods. Since he made his study, Germany has in any case fallen from virtue. Her workers finally joined the rest of us sinners. They demanded, and got, more pay.

THEATER

Muddy Track at Lincoln Center

Arthur Miller has a new entry in the Guilt Sweepstakes. It is called *Incident at Vichy*, and it runs a muddy track in an hour-and-a-half, huffing all the way. Unlike *After the Fall*, his previous contender at Recrimination Downs, this one is a standard steed, but it contains the same noisy virtue and moral flatulence, and it has about as much vigor and beauty as an old dray-horse about to be melted down for glue.

Incident at Vichy
by Arthur Miller
Repertory Theater of Lincoln Center
(ANTA Washington Square Theater)

Incident at Vichy takes place outside an improvised police station in occupied France. Sitting on a bench are a number of recently apprehended prisoners, arguing over the possible reasons for their arrest, and their eventual fate. All but two of the prisoners – a gypsy, and an Austrian nobleman arrested by mistake – are Jews, therefore destined for the death camps. And the structure of the work is based on the gradual decimation of the bench sitters as, one by one, they are led into the police station and examined for circumcision by a Jew Inspector and a German Major.

Although all the characters have names, professions, and little dramas, it soon becomes clear that they are not so much private men as public speakers, each with a symbolic role: a Humanist, a Marxist, a Coward, an Artist, a Businessman, an Aristocrat, etc. By the time the group has dwindled to a Jewish psychiatrist (the Humanist) and an Austrian Prince (the Aristocrat), arguing over the nature of racial prejudice, it has become obvious that Mr. Miller has given us not so much a play as another solemn sermon on Human Responsibility.

The trouble with Mr. Miller's sermons, apart from the fact that they are tedious, glum, and badly written, is that they are so uncomplicated. Only one character has an option on the Truth, which the others will eventually take up with a cry of *Eureka!* Here the playwright, using the psychiatrist as his megaphone, brings the Austrian aristocrat to the realization that the persecution of the Jews by the Nazis merely reflects a more universal system of persecution. "Each man has his Jew," he cries, "it is the Other." This is the single line in the play to approach eloquence, and it is followed by the single discovery to approach a dramatic revelation – that the Austrian has a Nazi cousin! Having established everybody's complicity – presumably excepting his own – the psychiatrist then shouts: "It's not your guilt I want. It's your responsibility!" Instead of finding this demand presumptuous in the extreme, on replying that he is not to be held accountable for the politics of his relatives, the Austrian is only permitted his cry of *Eureka!* Hitherto a disengaged aesthete, he now proceeds to sacrifice his life so that the psychiatrist may escape.

Howard Taubman has announced that this play "returns the theater to greatness." It returns the theater, more accurately, to the thirties, a period the author seems never to have left. Miller's Jew Inspector is borrowed from Max Frisch's *Andorra*, and his German Major – a decent person who has turned cruel because "there are no people anymore" – is a simplified version of a character in Rolf Hochhuth's *The Deputy*. But the real inspiration for this play comes from such liberal melodrama as Robert Sherwood's *The Petrified Forest*, where the Uncommitted Hero must be convinced of his Duty to Humanity, and give his life for a Cause. As for the ideas of the work – the only elements capable of raising it above the level of a Warner Brothers anti-Nazi epic starring Conrad Veidt – these have been hopelessly watered down.

It is apparently Mr. Miller's fate to stumble upon Pressing Questions long after more subtle minds have exhausted their possibilities, and then to pass them off as Profound Revelations – but all he adds are the capital letters. The theme of *Incident at Vichy*, for example, is nothing but half-understood Hannah Arendt. In *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, Miss Arendt showed how all of Europe was implicated in the fate of the Jews, but she hardly exculpated the Germans. In *Incident at Vichy*, however, Mr. Miller compares the treatment of the Jews by the Nazis with the hounding of the middle classes by the Russians, the exploitation of Africans and Indians by the British, and the suppression of Negroes by the Americans – and somehow manages to get the Germans off the hook. If everybody is guilty, then nobody is guilty, and the extermination of six million can be attributed merely to the universality of human evil, another agency recently discovered by the author.

Harold Clurman's production almost transcends the limitations imposed upon it by the writing, but since the action is mainly restricted to a bench, it cannot help being static for long periods and melodramatic for short ones, and the acting sometimes seems as dated as the play. Joseph Wiseman, who may be the spookiest actor in the American theater, would be ideally cast as Dracula, but only this company would think of giving him the role of a rationalistic and humane psychiatrist. It is a credit to Mr. Wiseman that he manages to restrain his sinister vibrato for so much of the play, but he loses control in the final scene, warbling his lines in a rich *bel canto* manner, flapping his arms, and descending upon

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the Austrian as if he were about to suck his neck. David Wayne as the nobleman and David J. Stewart as a flamboyant actor are effective, and Hal Holbrook as the German Major is, to my pleased surprise, considerably more than that, contributing a performance of authentic anguish and complexity. But most of the cast speaks in those slack New York tonalities that we have come to think of as the Lincoln Center style.

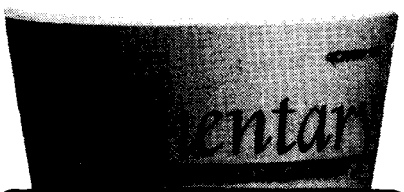
This style, to be sure, has been largely created by Arthur Miller whose two plays constitute, for the moment, the only presentations at the Repertory Theater. I see no reason why Mr. Miller should not have his own company – or Tennessee Williams, Murray Schisgal, and Jean Kerr too, for that matter – but I think we ought to stop pretending that what is going on at Lincoln Center has anything to do with the repertory idea. Certainly, the artistic director of the company seems to have no clear notion of what this idea is: "We've been working one year and produced two hits, Arthur Miller's *After the Fall* and *Incident at Vichy*," said Elia Kazan recently, defending his record. "From any standard, if you have two successes in one year, it can't be waved aside." Mr. Kazan's standards are obvious enough from this statement, the language of which speaks volumes. Under his guidance, the group has finally discovered its own level, which is precisely that of a conventional Broadway operation, grinding out "hits."

And the situation is getting worse. At the moment, the Repertory Theater is in a state of chaos and confusion as a result of the bungled – and rather ruthless – attempt by the Theater Board to replace Robert Whitehead without his knowledge. That the whole burden of blame has fallen on Mr. Whitehead is itself extremely depressing, for it shows that this board of lawyers, bankers, businessmen, and television executives is more upset by the company's financial condition than by its artistic inadequacies, and is reluctant to support a deficit operation. In crisis, Lincoln Center exposes its naked heart, where the old money motives are still pumping beneath the surface of the cultural cant, and we are right back where we were, in the midst of a familiar commercial anatomy.

Well, it was naïve to expect the traditional system to be revolutionized merely on the basis of a new building and a few high-sounding press releases, especially when Lincoln Center has always remained closely tied to the actors, directors, playwrights, and audiences of the conventional theater. The company may still continue to produce its occasional "hits," but it is a wreck which can probably never be salvaged no matter who takes over its leadership: the system seems too powerful and too firmly entrenched. Where we may still look for revolutionary ferment is in the minority theater – perhaps even on that small experimental stage being built at Lincoln Center, providing that can be an operation completely independent of the so-called Repertory Theater, and providing it is placed in capable and deserving hands. I should like to see it in the hands of Jonathan Miller.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

FOR LIVELY MINDS... IN JANUARY



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Correspondence

Why Bail Out the States?

Sirs:

You, Sirs, are harboring an extremist on your staff. I have just read Christopher Jencks's article, "Why Bail Out the States?" (December 12) and, frankly, I am exasperated that a man of such obvious intellectual endowment could be so ill informed about matters pertaining to the states. Power grasping bureaucrats and ill informed pseudo-intellectuals who promote unjustifiable intrusion of federal power in areas traditionally dominated by the states are in part responsible for the proliferation of extremist organizations best exemplified by the Birch Society, whose members spend most of their energies shrilly damning the federal government to the point where one might imagine our national government establishment to be an eminently more fearsome enemy than any outside our borders.

Historically and ideally, there has been a more or less amicable (at least since the Civil War) partnership between state and federal units of government. This relationship now is threatened because too many poorly informed, non-rational people on both sides are unwilling to promote the step-by-step partnership cooperation necessary if we are to achieve the goals of the President's "Great Society."

On the one hand the pro-federal people usually are unaware of, or choose to ignore, the enormous social progress made in nearly every state during the recent postwar years.

Education is a splendid case in point! During these years our own State of Kansas has nearly eliminated the one-room, one-teacher school. One county which had sixty-three of these anachronistic units at the beginning of this period now has one. Very few are left in the state. With school consolidation has come new construction of the educational plant, and it is a rare community, rural or urban, which has not rebuilt the better part of its physical facilities.

Concurrent with this we have much higher standards of certification for teachers, a much more professionalized corps. Moreover we have moved away from traditional reliance on the ad valorem tax toward sounder financing at a state level. In fact, both political parties are presently committed to doubling state assistance to education at the next session of the Legislature. All of this has been done with a minimum of friction and social dislocation.

During these years of almost precipitous exodus from the rural areas to the cities, the problems of state and local governments have been enormously more complicated than those faced at a federal level. It is at the state and local level, too, that government comes in more direct contact with the people it serves.

State and federal governments should be partners in most areas of endeavor. Certainly in the field of taxation there should be close cooperation. Many states have turned to the so-called regressive taxes like the sales levies simply because legislators have felt, not without justification, that the federal government had largely preempted the progressive income tax field. Some economists believe, indeed, that that particular tax was carried to the point of economic stagnation. Certainly the substantial federal income tax cuts made recently have proved to be a very salubrious aid to our economy. Moreover, the simple mechanics of collecting taxes efficiently require better cooperation at a state and federal level.

Mr. Jencks contends that the ultimate responsibility should rest on Congress and the President. It seems to me responsibility should ultimately rest upon the people. Mr. Jencks apparently is not aware that most members of state legislatures are called upon to justify their actions before innumerable sessions of the PTA, Rotary Clubs, Jaycees, etc. At the same time most responsibile news media in the states give adequate coverage to the activities of the state legislatures. All this serves to promote a healthy knowledge and interest in government among the electorate where responsibility must reside if the democratic system is to function satisfactorily.

All this doesn't pretend to the conclusion that state governments are rapidly solving all their problems. Progress in some areas is disheartenningly slow. It is a fact though, that all over America state and local governments have already done more than the federal people have dreamed and are moving ahead in nearly every area of social need.

President Kennedy's bright young men discovered what many a grizzled old state legislator has known for years, that attacking or attempting to change an entrenched bureacracy is hazardous business, with small probability for quick success.

At a state level many otherwise responsible people demand easy solutions to exasperating problems like the war in South Vietnam. At an academic level the agonizing problems faced by the states in education, penology, park resources etc. look easy enough. The truth is that some problems simply are not admissable to glib, quick answer. The crucial point is whether such problems are recognized and whether acceptable progress is initiated leading toward ultimate solution.

The truth is that several states are doing much better than Mr. Jencks imagines.

John Crutcher
Hutchinson, Kansas

Mr. Crutcher, *a Republican, is the Lt. Governor-elect of Kansas.*

It is hard to understand the source of Christopher Jencks's animus against the Heller proposal. A fiscal curve ball of the magnitude proposed will hardly eliminate for all time the full employment surplus of which Edwin Dale wrote. Periodic tax cuts and/or expenditure increases by the federal government will still be necessary. Congress still will be quite free to demonstrate that its new-found liberalism extends beyond a desire to punish a few recalcitrant Southern Democrats. In other words, even under automatic transfer of federal revenues to the states, the federal tax system will continue to be embarrassingly productive as Gross National Product rises.

The same sensitivity of tax revenues to increases in income is not at all true at the state and local levels. However slight the sensitivity, or "income elasticity," of state and local tax revenues, what elasticity there is arises mainly out of political decisions with respect to tax rates and bases. At these levels of government, to keep revenues in line with the expanding need for government services requires, almost yearly, tough and perhaps impossible choices.

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Reform of tax systems at *any* level seems a difficult matter: witness the fate of recent tax reform proposals at the federal level. In any case, states desiring to pursue economic development with an intelligent appreciation of long-range planning find themselves constrained by competitive tax concessions and tax base limitations. The Heller program seems a promising method of giving to progressives at lower levels of government some breathing space.

It is interesting to note that despite revenue problems at the state and local levels more severe than at the federal level, it is at that level that governmental non-defense exhaustive expenditures have increased most since World War II. Public versus private choices are at least being made in the right direction, even if, as according to Jencks, personnel in state and local government compare unfavorably to the inhabitants of Washington in terms of intelligence, disinterestedness, dedication, mobility, and natural eliteness.

Jencks is of course right in pointing out that there are a variety of mechanisms by which public projects can be implemented, the channeling of money through the state government being only one. The appropriate channel and administrative device depends upon a number of considerations, not the least of which is the maintenance of minimum standards of performance. Yet it is hard to see *a priori* why social welfare is better served by specific allocations at the federal level – for example tied grants-in-aid to states, which result in "costless" expenditures by states rather than general purpose grants to lower level governments, which at least would induce these governments to weigh alternative uses of the money, and hopefully, allocate it to those uses which meet greater needs. Standards of performance notwithstanding, I suspect we would have been better off had a goodly portion of the 9 or 10 billion dollars appropriated over the last 10 years for reasonably high standard space research projects been spent at the state level on a bundle of goods and services including a large quantity of medium standard education.

The Heller proposal has its demerits – particularly with respect to the removal of a large volume of funds from the budgetary process – and it has its merits, in particular, a small opening up on the growth side of our system of automatic stabilizers. The proposal involves a marginal quantity of funds; it does not warrant the criticism that it will petrify the federalist division of spheres of activity. In fact, with such a mechanism, we might be better able to make reasonable judgments as to what is proper for federal, multi-state, state, and local activities.

Martin C. Gideonse
Department of Economics
Union College
Schenectady, N.Y.

Christopher Jencks makes a number of telling points against Edwin Dale's justification (NR, November 28) of the Heller Plan, but he fails to carry out his analysis in terms of one essential question: *Where's the power?* He explains that of course the federal government should use, give money to, or have contractual arrangements with local bodies in carrying out the expanded programs he, and most of us favor. But that power over such programs might reside entirely at the federal level seems not to concern him. He thus fails to consider a question that is at least important: how daringly and how irrevocably do we wish to augment federal power and allow to atrophy the power (misused through it may be at present) which still does reside in the various state capitals?

Virginia Held
Barnard College

Christopher Jencks . . . opposes unrestricted federal grants to the poorer states because the state legislatures are frequently corrupt, illiberal, inefficient or racist. Doubtless many are all of these. However, nowhere does Mr. Jencks claim that these legislatures are not representative of the people who elect them. Behind Mr. Jencks's argument lies the unvoiced belief that self government would best be forgotten for those who cannot handle

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Ivan Shapiro
New York, N. Y.

Note

The Johnson Administration will not, we now understand, press for the adoption in 1965 of this proposal to turn back automatically to the states a portion of each year's federal income tax collection. The "Heller Plan" is not dead, but it has been put on ice.

– THE EDITORS

Consenting Adults

Sirs:

Alexander M. Bickel's account (December 12) of the punishment meted out to the man in North Carolina for committing a homosexual act with a consulting adult was indeed horrifying. A jail sentence of 20 to 30 years is shocking. However, your account was falsely comforting in its implication that the fault lies with the state courts, especially North Carolina's, while the federal courts are more enlightened. Last January the federal court in Grand Rapids, Michigan sentenced the head of West Coast News to 25 years in jail and fined him $25,000 for transporting a book called *Sex Life of a Cop* across state lines on five separate occasions. His assistant received a lighter sentence – 15 years and $19,000. Also, the company was fined $25,000. Both men are now out on bail pending appeal; the bail was set at $85,000.

Edward L. Galligan
Kalamazoo, Michigan

Aesthetic Politics

Sirs:

You charge me ("Aesthetic Politics," December 12) with making a merely "aesthetic" criticism of a "Presidential leadership that gets done what needs doing." I assure you that I hope Mr. Johnson will in the future do useful and wholesome things. But my dissatisfaction so far has not been with his prose style but with his style of what "needs doing." It is not good for the poor to provide concentration camps for Negro youth called Job Training camps. It is not good for the future to continue a settled policy to destroy the rural countryside. To "help" education by aggrandizing a school system that on the whole does much positive damage to children and very little good, is not what needs doing. To take no steps to break the semi-monopoly in broadcasting is not the way to a Great Society. And so forth.

I am afraid that in such matters the style is everything. It is indeed a matter of taste, between food and spoilt food.

Paul Goodman
Washington, D.C.

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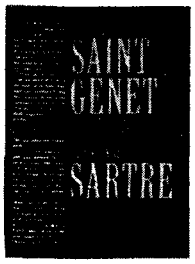

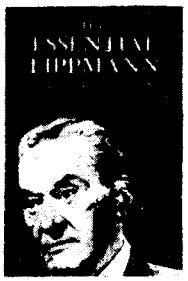

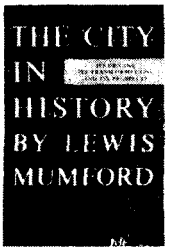

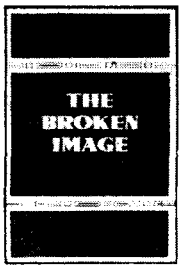

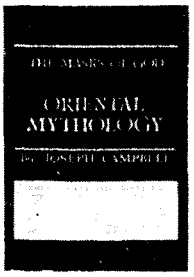

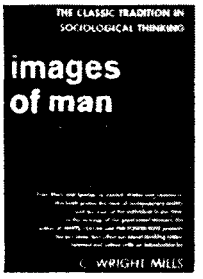

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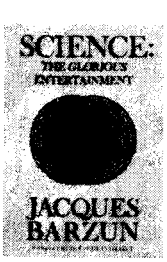

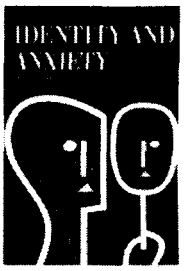

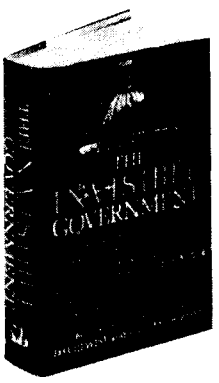

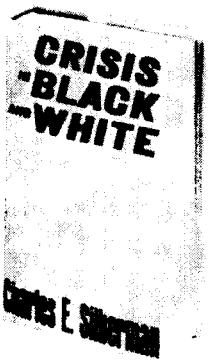

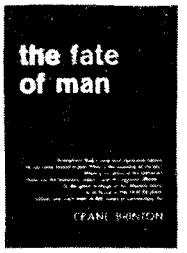

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